

# The Nation

VOL. LVII—NO. 1487.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1893.

6 CENTS.

THE

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FOR JANUARY.

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|  |                |
|--|----------------|
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| Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1892.                   | 1,472,142 48   |
| Total Marine Premiums.   | \$5,162,393 36 |

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1892, to 31st December, 1892. | \$3,759,193 05 |
|---|----------------|

|                                     |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Losses paid during the same period. | \$1,466,178 06 |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|

|                                   |              |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Returns of Premiums and Expenses. | \$738,617 09 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|

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|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks. | \$7,816,453 00  |
| Loans secured by Stocks and otherwise.                                   | 2,027,000 00    |
| Real Estate and Claims due the Company, estimated at.                    | 1,029,345 26    |
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| Amount.  | \$12,485,685 71 |

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1893.

## The Week.

THE calm with which Chairman Wilson's proposal to abolish the reciprocity clauses of the McKinley bill has been received, shows how little interest has really been taken in that business. Mr. Wilson properly characterizes it as a scheme of retaliation, and truthfully states that its main effect has been to provoke ill-feeling and diplomatic remonstrances. It was never intended seriously, McKinley and Reed approving it at the time of its passage with their tongues in their cheeks; and it was only the immense unpopularity of the tariff of 1890 that afterwards caused the Republican managers to seize upon reciprocity as a means of diverting attention from what they were really at. There is surely no occasion to keep up the pretence any longer, and it will pass into oblivion along with its twin humbug, the "Bureau of American Republics."

Some interesting remarks on the new tariff bill by Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, the well-known carpet-manufacturer of Lowell, Mass., appeared in the *American Wool and Cotton Reporter* last week. He considers the bill "on the whole a useful and fair one," and declares that "the rates generally are as high as most manufactures that are well established and in good condition should require." He proceeds:

"It is admitted by many manufacturers, I think I may say by most manufacturers, that many of the rates under the McKinley bill were far too high, and actually hurt them in their current business, besides creating throughout the whole country a strong and well-founded opposition to the McKinley bill and its enormous rates. The McKinley bill, in fact, was the most effective free-trade argument ever brought forward in this country, and many people consider that the next most effective one would be obstruction and defeat in the Senate of the Wilson bill."

Mr. Lyman does not think that the recent elections can be considered as deliberately reversing the votes of the whole country in 1890 and 1892 "in opposition to the McKinley excesses," and he does not think it would be safe for the protected manufacturers to go before the country on a high tariff issue at the general elections of 1894 or 1896. These are not the views of a "doctrinaire" or "theorist," but of one of the shrewdest business men in New England.

It is gratifying to see Republicans recovering their faith in the intelligence of workingmen. After the Presidential election of 1892 it seemed as if that faith was for ever gone, leading Republicans

vying with ex-President Harrison in making epigrams about the stupidity and selfishness of the laboring men who voted for Cleveland. But now all that has been changed, and we see Republican newspapers profoundly impressed again with the political capacity and character of workingmen. Why is this? Simply because Republican politicians are getting up mass-meetings of the unemployed to protest against the Wilson bill. The committee on ways and means, we are told with much solemn wagging of newspaper heads, are becoming terribly alarmed at these workingmen's protests, and may yet pause in their mad career. Perhaps they may pause, but if they do, it ought only to be to remark that business is poor and wages are cut down under a tariff which was going to make such things impossible, and which has at least six months more of life in it. They might also remark that mass-meetings in the far West attribute the evil to the stopping of the silver purchases, and that there is just as much reason in one contention as the other. It would be easy to get up mass-meetings of the unemployed and induce them to resolve that the hard times are due to the failure to annex Hawaii. Indeed, Senator Morgan has openly argued that if the United States Government would only guarantee the bonds of the Nicaragua Canal Company, the thousands of the unemployed would at once find work at good wages. With so many nostrums suggested, why should the protection nostrum be given the preference?

The Knights of Labor do not attract so much notice nowadays as a few years ago, and it is not a matter of so much consequence as formerly what sort of a man the general master-workman is. Nevertheless, it is a satisfaction to find that Powderly's successor has sensible views on the subject of strikes. Although he has been connected with labor organizations for years, he has never been in a strike, and he is "inclined to think their day is over." He says further: "They are the very last extremity to be resorted to, and even then they should be unaccompanied by force, and should be a dignified and peaceful protest on the part of labor against the terms given them. The ballot is much more effective in redressing wrongs than strikes or arbitration." While Powderly was a protectionist, Master Workman Sovereign is "an out-and-out free-trader," and considers so-called protection to American labor "a delusion." He says that "invested capital receives a bonus in the form of protection, and it is then optional with the capitalist to give a share of the bonus to

labor in the form of increased wages. But this option is seldom if ever exercised."

Congressman Boutelle took his place on Thursday among the great army of those who lash themselves into patriotic fury over Hawaiian affairs without stopping to read the evidence. He was suffering terribly about the hauling down of the flag in Honolulu last spring, and was wildly demanding to know by what authority Mr. Blount had caused that act to be done. By the authority, dear Congressman, of the person whom the Constitution declares to be "the commander-in-chief of the army and navy." Doubtless if Boutelle had been in Admiral Skerrett's place, he would have refused to obey the orders, on the ground that the Constitution could not have foreseen that such a dastardly letting go of booty would ever be commanded by a President of the United States; but in that case Boutelle would only have got himself imprisoned or shot, and then we could not have had him in Congress to keep on driving Republicans to the support of the President.

As a general rule Senator Hoar does not need to be followed seriously, but by his remark that "the President has not a word of disapprobation of the private and public profligacy of the Queen," he has outdone himself as a comic orator. The notion that the President of the United States should discuss in a message to Congress the chastity of foreign potentates must surely have been obtained from an unpublished work of the lamented Offenbach. He should get a chapter on royal profligacy into the next edition of Wheaton. An awful account of the morals of Catharine II. of Russia will be found in Bancroft, but Alexander Hamilton took no notice of them, whereas he ought, according to the luminous Hoar, to have written her long despatches on her weakness and evil behavior.

With every successive statement ex-Minister Stevens gets farther and farther away from the evidence against him, and may now be dropped out of consideration with great relief to all concerned. The country will take no interest in any more of his essays on "human government in its best form," or in his animosity against George III. and Lord North. To show how reckless he is in his assertions it is only necessary to point out how one of his own friends among the Hawaiian revolutionists gave him the lie on Thursday last. Says Stevens: "My opinions were so privately held that,

both in Honolulu and in California, it was believed that the American minister was averse to annexation." Says Mr. P. C. Jones, a member of President Dole's cabinet: "Of course, I will not contend for a moment that Minister Stevens was not in sympathy with us. Every one knew that he was in favor of annexation." Oh, Stevens, Stevens!

It was not, perhaps, to be expected that the religious press would read the evidence in the Hawaiian case, and so earn a right to speak upon its legal aspects, but it did not seem a violent supposition that at least some proper appreciation of the morality and high justice of President Cleveland's position might be seen in the professional expounders of religion and morals. It would be quite possible to acknowledge this, one would think, even if the President should be held to be mistaken in the details of his policy. But, alas! the *Independent* has only a sneer for Mr. Cleveland's "moral homily on international justice," and the *Outlook* observes that the President's course appears to be "based on analogies between the nation and the individual which have no sound basis in logic or morals." But it is precisely on such "analogies" that the whole conception of international justice is based, and it ought not to be from a religious paper that men learn the doctrine that what would be wrong for one individual to do to another is right for one nation to do to another. Is this a remnant of the old theological hocus-pocus whereby it used to be said that an act or a sentiment which would properly be called revolting in man, was in the Creator only a peculiarly exalted kind of virtue? However that may be, it is a deplorable and alarming thing that professional moralists should be debating about the sin of dancing or going to the theatre, and tithing the other mint and cummin of morality, and should go helplessly wrong on the question whether the nation should play the bully and highwayman. There is a moral paralysis evidenced by all this in full keeping with the wonderful dictum of McKane's presiding elder, who said, in regard to one of the sins with which that good Methodist is charged, that his contempt of the court which was undertaking to check him in his course of crime was "only a matter of court discipline," and therefore had nothing to do with Christian morality.

Why the hubbub about Hawaii is still kept up it is hard to see. The Oligarchs may have their independent republic, but have not the least chance of annexation, so why do their friends here not keep quiet and let them go on "developing" the Islands and getting rid of the natives? The Queen has declined to be restored on condition of respecting the

persons of the Oligarchs, and without this President Cleveland has distinctly said he cannot and will not help her, in spite of Stevens's misconduct. Congress, even if it were disposed, could not annex without a two-thirds vote, for the President would veto any bill for the purpose; and that a two-thirds vote, or even a majority, could be got for any such purpose, nobody pretends. Therefore, the best thing to be done would seem to be to let the Hawaiian Republic work out its own salvation or destruction. The experiment will be interesting because it will be the smallest independent republic on the globe, much smaller than San Marino, which, besides, can hardly be called independent. The statement that the few hundred foreigners own three-fourths of the property in the Islands, shows that, though few in numbers, they are gifted with no ordinary commercial sagacity. "Think of this," as Blaine said, "in one small island." If they were let loose in Wall Street, stocks would certainly be pretty "lively" for a few days.

Thursday's despatches from Honolulu reported a "growing sentiment" there that "the formation of a republic is the only way out of the present difficulty." The process is not explained, but we suppose it can only be in accordance with Minister Thurston's declaration that "the royalists must be stamped out." A glance at the material for a republic in Hawaii will show how promising it is, and what a new glory it is likely to bring to representative government. One-fifth of the population is Chinese, and they, of course, cannot vote. A seventh more is Japanese, and it would not do to let them vote either. They and the Chinese would just do to make up the helot class which most republics have to import, but which the lucky Hawaiian republic would find on hand to start with. There are also 8,602 Portuguese; they might be allowed to vote provided they would vote right, and the fact that 6,276 of them cannot read or write makes it highly probable that they would vote right. Then there are 40,622 natives whom it would not be safe to allow to vote, as they do not want a republic at all. This would leave a snug little nucleus of about 15,000 miscellaneous foreigners, something like one-fifth of the total population, who could make—provided they were all of one mind—one of the tightest little republics known to history.

Admiral Stanton having been restored to his command, or to another "equally as good," after an interval of two months' disgrace or discredit, and, we presume, of diminished salary, with no other charge against him than "a grave error of judgment," we think it fair to ask once more whether Mr. Herbert does not consider this practice

of punishing officers of high rank before trial a most unfortunate one for the discipline and reputation of the navy? It has been the custom, both under him and under his predecessor, whenever an officer at a distant post did something which looked bad, or which, if proved, would subject him to punishment, to deprive him of his command by telegram, and fill the newspapers with all sorts of disparaging reports about him, and then inquire into the matter later. This was done in the case of Commanders Whitehead, Reiter, Higginson, and Admiral Stanton. Now it so happens that, under the naval regulations, this operates as a terrible punishment, for not only does it discredit the officer at home and abroad, but it also suddenly cuts down the salary on which, probably, his wife is living in a rented house and educating his children in some city of the Union. In other words, along with disgrace it inflicts a tremendous fine. That it is entirely unnecessary, as well as unjust, we need not say. In Admiral Stanton's case, for instance, it was the easiest thing in the world to disavow the salute of Mello's flag, and then ask Stanton for his explanation. It was very plain from the beginning that the revolt of a navy against its own government in its own harbor was so unusual that it created a situation which made a mistake in the matter of saluting very easy. Peixoto was not such a terrible fellow that we had to go down on our knees to him on the spot. Why not, then, disavow the salute, and ask Admiral Stanton for his report, and wait till he was heard from before condemning him? Why not, in short, give commanding officers of our ships of war the treatment accorded to gentlemen all over the world—that is, ask for an explanation before slapping their faces?

The President could hardly have made a better selection for the Italian mission than Mr. Wayne MacVeagh; the pity is that he did not think of him sooner. The public does not need to be told who Mr. MacVeagh is, and the papers of all parties of his own city vie with each other in singing his praises. He will be what is rare in our diplomacy, the right man in the right place.

Senator Proctor introduced a bill in the Senate last week providing for the annexation of Utah to Nevada, and the making of one State out of the two. This is the ideal solution of a problem which otherwise must apparently always remain on our hands. There is no reason to expect that Nevada will ever have a population large enough to fit it for statehood, but the privilege cannot be taken from it without its consent, which cannot be looked for. On the other hand, Nevada and Utah together would make

a State of considerably over 250,000 people to-day, and one which would steadily grow in population, instead of dwindling, as has been the case with Nevada for the past fifteen years. There was a time when Nevada was anxious to secure a slice of Utah, and the Constitution authorizes the addition if it can be brought about. If the whole of Utah could be annexed, all the difficulties of the existing situation would vanish. The office-holders and office-seekers of both will object to the movement, but their opposition ought not to prove effective.

It would also be a good thing if Arizona and New Mexico could be brought into the Union as a single State. There is grave danger that Arizona will turn out a second Nevada, for, in spite of all the boasting about her rapid growth, the population increased between 1880 and 1890 only from 40,440 to 59,620, and a considerable proportion of these are Indians. Nor is New Mexico growing rapidly. It had 119,565 people in 1880, and only 153,593 in 1890; and the vote cast in 1892 for delegate to Congress was several hundred smaller than in 1890. It would be the grossest sort of an outrage to give two Senators, one Representative, and three votes in the electoral college to the few thousand men who are eligible to the suffrage in Arizona. New Mexico and Arizona together have scarcely as large a population as a State ought to have, and the idea of making two States out of them now is certainly intolerable. We trust the Senate will show more discrimination about these questions than was manifested in the House.

The Democrats in Congress did a very discreditable thing, just before taking the recess, by the passage of a mileage grab. The law provides for the payment of mileage for each "regular session," of which there are two during the term of each Congress. But when the extra session opened last August, a resolution was adopted making available then the amount provided in one of the regular appropriation bills for the payment of mileage during the session opening in December, 1893, and it was at once drawn by Senators and Representatives. No intimation was given that this was anything more than it appeared on its face—an anticipation for the sake of convenience in the drawing of money which was to be drawn once and might better be drawn in August than in December. But last week a provision was brought forward for the appropriation of \$175,000 in the urgent deficiency bill for the payment of mileage a second time, and it went through both branches by an overwhelming majority. There have been a dozen extra sessions of Congress, but never before has mileage been

voted for one of them; and it is peculiarly outrageous that a party pledged to "economy and retrenchment" should make such a grab out of the public treasury at a time when the Government must borrow money to pay its necessary expenses.

The report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission must be unpleasant reading for those who strenuously advocated and still uphold the act to regulate commerce. The greater part of that report is taken up with indirect defences against attacks upon certain sections of the law and with requests for additional legislation. In both cases the failure of the act to accomplish its original purpose is by implication admitted. When Judge Dillon stated that the insolvency of the Union Pacific Road was in part attributable to the inter-state commerce law, he voiced a sentiment common among railroad men and financiers. Against this the commission protests, because "the law operates only to prevent unjust charges and undue partiality"; which merely begs the question. This opinion is further discredited by the next clause in the report, in which a strong argument is made in favor of giving authority to the commission to prescribe minimum as well as maximum rates. If railway insolvency comes only through "unjust charges," then authority to stop the decline would be against public policy. As a matter of fact the spirit and terms of the inter-state act have always been inequitable. The law was framed to operate against the railways, not to be simply just. It is of course true that abuses existed, but it was entirely overlooked that in most cases these were themselves effects rather than causes; so that the law, by forbidding unjust discrimination and at the same time prohibiting agreements as to rates, was contradictory. So high an authority as Judge Cooley declared in effect in one of his first decisions that the act did not contemplate any relief to the carriers, but only to the shippers. And to this day there exists an idea that railway corporations may become bankrupt without injury to the community, provided only that charges continue to decrease. In this spirit the act to regulate commerce was conceived.

It is not reasonable, perhaps, to blame the commissioners because these gentlemen have carried out the intent of the law. Since its enactment in 1887 a few cases involving questions under the act have been passed upon by the Federal courts, with the result that in nearly every instance the decisions have been adverse to the law or the commission's interpretation of it. Doubtless many objectionable features would be in time thus whittled away, but it would be to the lasting advantage of the public if we could now have

railway regulation framed on principles of justice to both parties. For example, the report under review declares the prohibition of a greater charge for a shorter distance to be "nothing more than an extension to places of the rule forbidding unjust discrimination between persons," when the facts show the analogy to be false. Just discriminations between persons are not forbidden by this one-sided law, only unjust ones, but in the short-haul clause no such distinction is made; just and unjust differences between places (as to short-haul charges) are alike condemned.

The burdens of rulership must seem heavy to Mr. Croker in these days. With between fifty and sixty of his deputy-sub-assistants under indictment and arrest for cheating at the polls; with Dr. Parkhurst in pursuit of the Police Department with such a very sharp stick that all the police captains as well as the police commissioners are kept dancing with uneasiness all the time; with one police captain under indictment and another in danger of a similar fate in the near future; with one police commissioner convicted by the *Times* of having been a defaulter in Buffalo before he was brought here to help Mr. Croker govern us; with another police commissioner pursued by the *World* with most disagreeable evidence as to his suddenly acquired wealth on a small salary; with nearly the entire press of the city in open and increasing hostility to Tammany, seeking for new evidence of its corrupt and criminal character for daily publication—with all these causes for worry and others too numerous to catalogue, Mr. Croker must sometimes wish that he had retired from rulership after the last election, and devoted the remainder of his days to the peaceful enjoyment of his great riches—an enjoyment, alas, which the impertinent meddling of a legislative investigating committee may soon make for ever unattainable.

The business and financial troubles of the leading South American countries and of the United States have had a marked effect in checking emigration from Europe during the past two years. From tables lately published by the chief of the Italian statistical bureau, it appears that a decline in emigration is to be seen in its returns from Great Britain and Germany and Italy—that is, the great fountains of emigration. The falling off was greatest of all in Italy, in 1892, and it is no doubt true that the present distress in Italy is intensified by the fact that some 70,000 Italians who, under ordinary circumstances, would have found work abroad, were kept at home to swell the numbers of the unemployed. This is only one of the ways in which the business dependence of one country upon others is shown.

## SECRETARY CARLISLE'S REPORT.

THE report of the secretary of the treasury has been looked for with eagerness by the business community this year on many accounts. The Treasury is facing a deficit of greater or less magnitude, and has been for a long time postponing all payments that were not pressing. It is necessary that the Government should have more revenue, and it is clear also that new taxes cannot be put in operation soon enough to meet the exigency. Hence some kind of temporary borrowing must be resorted to.

The repeal of the silver-purchase act has opened a new series of financial questions. What shall be the future currency of the nation? How shall it be regulated? What principles shall it rest upon? These are questions properly falling within the purview of the secretary of the treasury, and his opinion ought to be influential with Congress and with the country.

The secretary's views as to the method of laying the new internal-revenue taxes are of great importance and interest, especially when the committee of ways and means appears to be in doubt. Usually the committee makes up its own mind, as it does with reference to tariff details, without much heed to the secretary's opinions, but in the present case it is assumed that his opinions are likely to be controlling, or perhaps have been formed in consultation with the committee.

These are the three points which have insured unusual attention to Mr. Carlisle's report. In regard to a temporary loan, which seems to be unavoidable, the secretary shows that the old laws of 1870 and 1875 are inapplicable, in a financial sense, to present conditions. The bonds authorized bear too high a rate of interest and run too long. It is needless to dwell upon this subject. Argument upon it was exhausted long ago. The secretary recommends in lieu thereof alternative plans. One is the issuance of bonds running five years at 3 per cent. interest, of denominations of \$25 and upwards, to be sold through the sub-treasuries and post-offices. The other is a plan for issuing "obligations," presumably Treasury notes, not exceeding \$50,000,000 in all, payable one year after date and bearing interest not exceeding 3 per cent. The latter method we consider decidedly preferable. It is very likely, indeed almost certain, that the Government will be able to pay off this temporary debt in the course of two or three years, in which case it ought to have the option of doing so. Moreover, a great many creditors of the Government would gladly receive their pay in these very notes, while all that were not so taken would find a ready market without the payment of any commissions whatever, and probably at 2½ per cent. interest, if not less. They would form a ready investment for "call money." The demand for such an

investment is so great at present that a large part of the \$50,000,000 might be taken at as low a rate of interest as 2 per cent. Of the two plans for borrowing, the second is therefore the preferable one and likely to be the more popular of the two.

The whole drift of the secretary's report touching the currency is towards the retirement of all kinds of Government paper and the withdrawal of the Treasury from banking business of every description. It is a great pity that Mr. Carlisle, having stepped into this cold brook, did not pass over completely and say: "I recommend that steps be taken to redeem and cancel every scrap of Government circulating notes, of whatever name and nature, and that when they are so redeemed the Treasury confine itself to the collection of its revenues and the payment of the public expenses." This is perhaps the first time since the close of the war when the public mind has been ripe for such a communication from the chief financial officer of the Government. The fact that Mr. Carlisle went as far as he did is evidence of this state of mind. He has deprecated Government paper money and shown that it is unreasonable, unphilosophical, and unfinancial. But instead of saying to Congress, "Reform it altogether," he has thrown out a hint that \$55,000,000 more of the same kind of stuff might be issued under the guise of "coining the seigniorage"—that is, putting into the form of silver dollars the imaginary difference between the cost of the silver bullion in the Treasury and what it would have been worth at a former period of the world's history when sixteen ounces of silver was worth one ounce of gold. This is the fly in the secretary's pot of ointment. It is true that he does not recommend coining the seigniorage, but merely says that he has made such preparations that he could coin the whole of it in the course of five years. He speaks of this step as a manufacturer might speak of a plan for keeping his works going, turning out carpets or chairs.

The mint does not exist for the purpose of keeping workmen employed, nor is the coinage of silver dollars necessary to the issue of fiat money. The Government printing-press can furnish all of the latter that is really needed, at lower cost and with greater expedition than all the mints put together. Under the conditions of the single gold standard, which now prevails and which will not be changed, all the "seigniorage" past, present, and to come, as well as all the silver dollars, are "fiat," to all intents and purposes. It is as needless for the secretary to inform Congress that he has the means to coin the seigniorage as that he has facilities for printing more greenbacks.

The secretary's recommendation that the gold reserve be increased is altogether

er wise. This, however, is only a part of the larger recommendation that the Government be provided with a surplus of revenue over expenditures. When this requirement is realized, the gold reserve will build itself up with very slight attention on the part of the secretary, or perhaps with none at all.

## THE TARIFF REPORTS.

THE tariff report of Chairman Wilson of the ways and means committee is a very impressive document. It not only goes to the root of the subject argumentatively, but it displays the sort of courage needed for the present crisis. The times are hard, many people are out of employment. All of the Republicans and many Democrats are saying that the trouble is due to expected tariff changes. These changes consist in the removal of unnecessary taxes which have been heaped upon industry from time to time since the beginning of the war, more than thirty years ago. The piling up of these burdens has been continuous. There was no place to stop, so long as the protected classes had any control of the Government, any more than there is for a victim of alcoholism. The more they had, the more they wanted, and the more they wanted, the more they managed in one way and another to secure. But obviously that sort of debauchery could not last for ever. There must come a time when protection would cease to protect. That time really came in 1882, and the chief priests of protection acknowledged that it was so, in the report on the tariff which they made in that year. But the protected classes broke away from their leaders and demanded more of the strong drink to which they were accustomed, and they got it in the tariff of 1883. This lasted only a few years. As soon as the effects had worn off they called for another dram and a stiffer one. This they got in the McKinley bill. But there was no reason to suppose that the McKinley tariff would be a finality any more than its predecessors since the beginning of the war.

During this period of dram-drinking all the ideas upon which the doctrine of protection was founded were overturned and supplanted. The principal one—the theory of giving new industries time to get established—was completely superseded, and its place was taken by the theory that, after the industry is established, the Government must guarantee it a certain rate of profit, and that the persons who are engaged in it must be the only persons to decide what the rate of profit shall be, and whether the method employed will result in producing it. Take wool-growing, for example. It required a great deal of "cheek" to speak of wool-growing as an infant industry or one that needed to be established in this country. So the pretended promoters of

wool-growing omitted that formality, and took the ground that, although they were established, they had as good a right to protection as others which affirmed that they were not yet established. What was more to the purpose, they took the ground that if they didn't get "their share," nobody else should have any. The iron, coal, copper, lead, zinc, salt, lumber, and other indigenous industries took the same ground, and completely subverted the ideas upon which protection was founded. As long as the idea of industrial infancy prevailed, we were told that domestic competition would bring prices down to the proper level as soon as the industries were established. That seemed reasonable, but just as it was on the point of going into effect the Trusts and combines took possession of the field wherever they could do so, and, under shelter of the tariff, kept up their prices to the old level wherever they could do so by destroying competition.

This is the situation in which the country found itself at the last presidential election. The people resolved to turn over a new leaf. They put the Democratic party in power with express orders to reform the tariff. This order has been executed in part by the committee of which Mr. Wilson is chairman. We need not analyze his report in detail. What we especially admire is the courage with which he assails a venerable abuse that is one-half delusion and the other half fraud. It is most unfortunate that the silver panic, and the dislocation of trade which it caused, should have come at this juncture, giving a certain plausibility to the enemies of tariff reform, but this accident is largely offset by the determined character of Mr. Wilson's report, which gives promise not only of unyielding purpose to carry out the promises of the presidential election, but to do so without a moment's unnecessary delay.

Ex-Speaker Reed's report on behalf of the minority of the ways and means committee refers to the Wilson bill as a "tariff-tinkering bill," as though that phrase carried sufficient condemnation of the measure. The meaning of this phrase is not left in doubt by Mr. Reed. He says that it is "only another tariff-tinkering bill, the like of which has disturbed the conditions of business so many times the last thirty years." Mr. Reed has a very discerning mind, as we shall proceed to show. The tariff-tinkering bills that have disturbed the conditions of business the last thirty years are the following:

Act of March 2, 1861,  
Act of August 5, 1861,  
Act of December 24, 1861,  
Act of July 14, 1862,  
Act of March 3, 1863,  
Act of April 29, 1864,  
Act of June 30, 1864,  
Act of March 3, 1865,  
Act of May 16, 1866,  
Act of July 28, 1866,  
Act of March 2, 1867,  
Act of March 25, 1867,  
Act of February 24, 1869,

Act of July 14, 1870,  
Act of May 1, 1872,  
Act of June 8, 1872,  
Act of June 22, 1874,  
Act of February 8, 1875,  
Act of March 3, 1875,  
Act of July 1, 1879,  
Act of June 14, 1880,  
Act of May 6, 1882,  
Act of March 3, 1883,  
Act of May 9, 1890,  
Act of June 10, 1890,  
Act of October 1, 1890.

All of these bills were passed by the

Republican party. The first one in the list was the first Morrill tariff, but it was not a war tariff. The war had not begun at that time, and it was not absolutely certain that there would be one. The bill was ostensibly a revenue measure, but was mildly protective, according to the Republican sentiment of that day. It was followed in August by another Morrill tariff which was likewise a revenue measure. The protective features were not increased in this bill or in that of December of the same year, which was a bill to increase the duties on tea, coffee, and sugar. This bill was framed in accordance with the recommendation of the secretary of the treasury. Mr. Morrill, in his remarks on the measure, expressed a doubt whether it would really increase the revenue, but he said that if it did not have that effect, it would "prevent money from going out of the country." This he considered very important under the circumstances, his idea being that we were going to put down the rebellion with money, not with the things which money buys. Tea, coffee, and sugar were certainly as important to the health and vigor of soldiers, as well as of the people who sustained them, as anything else that could be imagined, but the chief authority on tariff legislation at that time and during the last thirty years until McKinley arose, had the idea that keeping money in the country was a good thing *per se* and a worthy object of tariff legislation.

The tariff of July 14, 1862, was a general revision, "increasing temporarily the duties on imports." It was under this apologetic phrase that the first decidedly protective tariff, after the beginning of the war, was introduced. It increased the duties on many textile fabrics avowedly for the purpose of protection, but the explanation was made both in debate and in the title of the bill that it was to be temporary only. Two acts were passed in one day, March 3, 1863. These dealt with only a few items. On the 29th of April, 1864, a brief but comprehensive act was passed increasing all duties, except those on printing-paper, 50 per cent. for sixty days.

June 30, 1864, another increase of duties all around was called for. This was likewise a Morrill tariff. The author of it, apparently anticipating by nearly thirty years the objections raised by Mr. Thomas B. Reed to tariff-tinkering bills, said: "While sudden and frequent changes of tax and tariff bills are undesirable because of the shock and revolution they bring upon the trade and commerce of the country, the reasons for some change now are potential and obvious." The principal reason was that the internal-revenue system imposed taxes on manufactures, and it was deemed necessary to increase the tariff on the corresponding articles of domestic production.

Between this act and that of March 2, 1867, the celebrated wool-tariff act, there were a few small "tariff-tinkering measures" passed which do not require much attention. The act of March 2, however, was a very important one, since it introduced a new idea into our system, that of protecting, or rather of giving bounties to, old-established industries. Hitherto the theory of protecting the infants only had been adhered to. Raw wool, which had before paid nominal duties only, was put on the list at about ten cents per pound and eleven per cent. ad valorem, and the duties on woollen goods were increased not merely in a corresponding degree, but much more. The result was an immediate and severe decline in the prices of domestic wool, leading to the slaughter of vast numbers of sheep and such distress and bankruptcy among the woollen manufacturers as has seldom been known in this country. Two years later, February 24, 1869, came the copper tariff, a measure absolutely inexcusable, as we were exporting copper largely at that date. It was shown at the time to be a mere scheme of speculators. The effect of it was to enable the copper-producers on Lake Superior to charge American consumers four cents per pound more than they charged foreigners for the same article, and to close all the copper-smelting works on the Atlantic seaboard which depended upon foreign ores for their raw material.

The internal-revenue tax on manufactures was repealed in 1870, but there was no reduction of the duties which had been enacted in 1864 to compensate for this tax—a circumstance which caused Senator Sherman of Ohio, in a subsequent debate, to bring a severe reproach upon the beneficiaries of the tariff. Tariff tinkering continued, as the list above published shows. The protected classes, like the daughter of the horse-leech, cried, "Give, give," till McKinley took hold in 1890. Then they got all that they asked for. In fact, they got more, for their shameless demands and the shameless manner in which they were granted produced a reaction in the public mind which upset the Republican party in all branches of the Government simultaneously. Tariff tinkering during the past thirty years, and especially during the past three, has caused Mr. Wilson, and not Mr. Reed, to be leader of the House at the present time.

#### WHAT TO DO WITH THE UNEMPLOYED.

DR. STANTON COIT has written a letter to the papers complaining of misrepresentation of his utterances about labor and capital. There is no doubt that he has been grossly misrepresented by the *Times*, in making him set the poor on against the rich, and putting other kindred matter in his mouth. But his demand that the city must employ

the poor is likely to produce much misconception and disappointment. The only employment which the city can give the poor, of which we have thus far had any mention, is street-cleaning and the repair of sidewalks. We grant that more men might be employed in street-cleaning, but they can only be so employed by releasing Mr. Andrews from the obligation under which he now lies to clean the streets "thoroughly." For this he has been furnished with abundant means, and if the work is done for him by charity, what is to become of the money? Moreover, cleaning the streets in winter is no child's play. It means great exposure by night and day, for which those of the unemployed—the Jewish tailors, for instance—who are only accustomed to indoor work are utterly unfit, particularly in their present ill-fed and ill-clothed condition. As to the repairing of sidewalks, the Department of Public Works has told the East-side Committee that if they will report to it cases of sidewalks in need of repair, it will make the landlords repair them. Five hundred such cases have, we believe, been reported, and probably double as many could be found. But repairing sidewalks is skilled work, and cannot be done in frost. Moreover, what capacity do the great bulk of the unemployed possess for any such jobs? How many of them could repair a sidewalk, and how is the landlord to be compelled to employ them? What man in his senses who had a sidewalk to repair would get them to do the job?

Dr. Coit's suggestion about the new parks is equally impracticable. Park work cannot be done in winter, and if it could, those who usually do it are all here and want the work. In short, the plain truth is, and it ought to be faced, that all city work is outdoor work of a peculiarly laborious and exposing condition, and in winter the city has no such work to bestow. Moreover, if it had, the bulk of the unemployed are utterly unfit for it. A large body of them are women and girls and tailors, and seamstresses of some kind. It is absurd to talk of sending them at this season to clean streets or mend sidewalks or make parks.

Even if these objections did not exist, others equally strong would be found in the character of the city officials. In the expenditure of the city revenues they are tied up by a good many legal rules and regulations and checks. In expending vast sums for charity or for charitable work, they would be under no such restraints, and the result would probably be what reporters call a "carnival of corruption." The jails and gambling houses would be searched for foremen and directors of the work, and the beneficiaries of the charity would be converted into Tammany voters next

fall. This is a consideration which cannot be overlooked in this city. When we see the kind of men Tammany puts on the police bench, in the Police Commission, and in the Department of Public Works, we may guess the kind of men to whom they would give the handling of the charity money. Possibly this objection might be overcome by the creation of some sort of commission of outsiders, like the Aqueduct Commission, but something of this kind would be absolutely necessary. All the theories of the state socialists break down ludicrously when "the state" turns up in the persons of Gilroy, Croker, Martin & Co. Furthermore, if any municipal system of relief were set on foot, the rush of paupers and poor persons from the neighboring towns and villages would be immense, and we may be sure city officials would do little to keep them out. And in thinking of throwing any such burden on the city, we have to remember that the bulk of the taxpayers are persons who, at crises like this, are themselves just struggling to keep their heads above water, and need but very little pressure to fall into the pauper crowd.

What, then, is to be done? Well, we think the very first thing to be done—and in this all the charitable associations should unite, and the city officials can render important aid—is to find out what the number of the bona-fide suffering unemployed is. As yet we have had nothing but "estimates," and the estimates vary from 100,000 to 30,000. Surely it is possible in two or three days to find out how many of the real resident poor of this city have lost their work and are in distress. Can employers not be got to say how many people they have discharged? Cannot the district visitors of the Charity Organization Society, of the University Settlement, and of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor make returns on this point which would have some approach to accuracy? When this is done, the calculation of the cost of keeping them from starvation, say, till the middle of March, would be easy enough, and our belief is that if the well-to-do of this city knew what it was, they are quite equal, if properly approached, to the task of providing it. But they must know exactly what is expected of them. The conditions under which collections are now made are very discouraging, for no man who gives anything has the least idea of what impression he is making on the total mass of poverty. According to all the accounts we hear, the real unemployed are not grasping or discontented or anarchical; they are resigned and patient to an extraordinary degree, and it ought not to be difficult to keep them afloat until industry revives.

## Correspondence.

### THE EXPLOSION IN PARIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With the feelings of distress and indignation which your article of this week expresses, all your readers will assuredly and justly sympathize. Yet there would seem to be certain considerations, not unworthy of attention, which might have the effect of modifying some of the impressions which the article is likely to produce.

It has indeed been true, in a general way, in regard to particular periods and particular countries, that there was often "no distinction worth mention between the anarchists and the Continental socialists." But as applied to the last few years and to the three great countries Germany, France, and England, such a judgment—though there may still be something to be said for it—would hardly appear to give an adequate impression of the direction in which the movement of thought has really been going. The number of socialists has certainly increased with great rapidity; but at the same time the great socialist bodies, led by their most influential chieftains, have entered upon a policy of "parliamentarism" and legal agitation and piecemeal change—of what the French call "possible-ism"—in marked contrast to their previous revolutionary fervor. The nature and extent of this change of attitude will be found set forth (to mention but one among many accessible authorities) in the new edition (1891) of the 'Contemporary Socialism' of Mr. John Rae, an observer who errs, if at all, from want of sympathy with what he describes. Speaking of the Halle Congress of Socialists in 1891, he gives this account of the speech of Liebknecht, the chief leader of the German socialists:

"People spoke of revolution, he said, but they should remember that roast pigeons don't fly into one's mouth by themselves. It was easy enough to make bitter speeches, and any fool and donkey could throw bombs; but the misadventures of the anarchists showed plainly enough that nothing could be done in that way. The socialists had now 20 per cent. of the population; but what could 20 per cent. do against 80 per cent. by the use of force? No, it was not force, it was reason they must use if they would succeed. . . . 'Well, then,' suggested another old-world [old-time] socialist, 'let us, at any rate, issue a pamphlet describing the glories of this socialist State, and get the people prepared to flock into it'; but this suggestion was also frowned down. 'For,' said Liebknecht, 'who would say what the *Zukunftstaat*—the socialist State of the future—is to be? Who could foresee so much as the development of the existing German State for a single year.'"

And Mr. Rae's conclusion is, that

"the revolutionary ideal seems to be retreating, perhaps insensibly, in the socialistic mind into an eschatological decoration, into a sort of Second Advent which is to come and to be believed in; but the practical concerns of the present must be more and more treated in their own practical way."

Precisely the same tendency is illustrated in France, though in a different manner, by the increasing strength of the municipal socialists who follow Brousse, and the dwindling numbers of the Marxian revolutionists who follow Guesde. In England it is sufficiently indicated by the prominence of the Fabian Society and the disappearance from practical politics of the Social Democratic Federation.

But it can be easily understood how that, while the great body of the socialists has thus been marching in the direction of what we

may conveniently call "moderation," some of the less practical and more fanatical of them should have been disgusted by the new policy, and should have gone off in a rage into anarchism. The effects of this reaction are apparent on almost every page of a collection of anarchist sheets which I have recently had an opportunity of glancing over. Thus, the *London Freedom*, "a Journal of Anarchist Communism," complains (April, 1892) that "it is enough to make the angels weep to see John Burns," who "has over and over again shown his capacity as . . . an apostle of revolutionary truth," "spending his life on the petty details of local government" in the London County Council; and a Brussels journal, *La Misère*, "organe anarchiste," can find nothing worse to say of "le parti ouvrier belge, qui se croit bien pur et bien sérieux," than that "il n'est, au fond, qu'un parti de possibilistes" (August 27, 1892). At the Zürich Congress last August there took place a final struggle of strength between the socialist leaders and the anarchist dissidents, ending in the expulsion of the latter. Thus the world sees a strange and apparently inconsistent spectacle: the growth of a moderate socialism and the parallel growth (inconsiderable, however, in comparison) of a rabid anarchism. The latter is very largely a result and an indication of the former.

There is a bit of recent history which may suggest a lesson for to day. The effect of Bismarck's legislation, which made legal agitation impossible, was to give the party of violence the upper hand in socialist circles in Germany, and to cause the substitution, in the Wyden programme of 1880, of the ominous phrase "by every means" for the previous phrase "by every legal means." The abandonment of the Bismarckian policy of indiscriminate repression has been followed, as we see, by the victory of moderate counsels in the socialist ranks. But there is always some danger of the reverse taking place. The devising, therefore, of legislation to punish and prevent anarchist outrages needs the coolest judgment and the most careful draughtsmanship. Enactments framed in a panic are only too likely to put obstacles in the way of a socialist propaganda—in the proper sense of the term "socialist"—which has evidently as much right to freedom of utterance as the individualist propaganda so ably and usefully conducted by the *Nation*. And such a lumping-together of very different sorts of people in a common condemnation is only too likely to produce a common resistance. Tendencies in this direction are already to be seen in the French Chamber. The *Nation* has itself, on many occasions, pointed out the like effects of an indiscriminating policy of repression in the case of Ireland. And what is true of legislation is true also in a degree, one cannot help fearing, of an indiscriminating public opinion.

Without raising, then, any of the other questions suggested by your vigorous article—about which one might argue at great length without arriving at any conclusion which could be briefly stated—attention may properly be called to a distinction which does seem to be pretty clear *now*, whatever it may have been until recently; a distinction, moreover, which just now it may be of some practical importance to observe.

Yours very respectfully, W. J. ASHLEY.  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., December 16, 1893.

#### PROTECTION AND SOCIALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with great interest from

time to time your observations on the socialistic nostrums which, unfortunately, are rapidly spreading among the unprosperous and discontented masses both in the Old World and in the New. But I do not think it fair to lay the blame upon institutions like universal suffrage, or upon the higher intelligence induced by the growth of facilities for learning to read and write.

Is there not a more obvious cause, which, if cut off, would not be regretted by thoughtful people, and which explains more clearly the reasons for the development of ideas contrary to the spirit of liberty and civilization? Is it not true that the sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance had its origin in the "American system" of governmental "protection to industry," and that the silver-purchase act took its rise in the same source? Once commit the nation to a policy of disregarding the rights of property, and undertaking the "encouragement" of special interests by abuse of the taxing power, and what wonder that even college professors and clergymen should often be misled into supposing that state socialism is the goal towards which manifest destiny is bearing us? What difference is there between confiscating property by customs officers and taking it with troops? From "fostering enterprise" is it not but a step farther to acquire the "instruments of production," as the socialists urge, and give employment directly? Admitting the doctrine of protection, why is its extension unnatural?

The fact is, that there is a fundamental misconception in the popular mind regarding the proper sphere of government. It is fancied by many that a community has more rights than the individuals composing it, or, in short, that a stream can rise higher than its source. Once establish a theory that the "State" has more rights than the individual, and you practically destroy the sacredness of private property, and there is no telling to what lengths socialistic schemes will go. The cure for them is to revert to the principles of true democracy as expressed in the Constitution: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." We apprehend that the fundamental purpose of government is to enforce respect for life, liberty, and property, or, in other words, to prevent crime; but if the paternal purpose of the tariffites is conceded to be legitimate, it follows that public education will be stamped with paternalism, thus supplying a favorable soil to germinate the seeds of socialism.

T. WISTAR BROWN, JR.

PHILADELPHIA, December 18, 1893.

#### THE RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is no escape from the logic of the article on "An Abandoned Position," printed in your issue of December 14. To repeal the act of July 27, 1868, however, would either compel us to change our present practices radically or to fall into even greater inconsistencies. The remedy, therefore, would seem to be to amend the act of 1868 so that it shall read: "The right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people of the Caucasian and negro races, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life," etc. It is only necessary to make the language of our declared principles fit our practice to render the absurdity apparent. But practical politics is above consistency in either the one or the other.—Very respectfully,

F. W. GOOKIN.

CHICAGO, December 18, 1893.

#### THE DEFICIT AND THE REMEDY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Almost all the measures recently proposed for the relief of the United States Treasury have been schemes for additional taxation. During the latter part of Mr. Cleveland's last administration he was somewhat bothered with a surplus. The Dependent Pension bill was a Republican afterthought, and was passed for the purpose of showing how easy it was to manage a surplus. As a surplus-extinguisher its success cannot be denied. Have we not now a Cato lurking somewhere who will undertake the repeal of this law? The extraction of an aching tooth no more effectually relieves the pain than would this relieve all brain-racking over the deficit.

W. M. H.

ST. LOUIS, December 18, 1893.

#### CIVILIAN PAY IN THE NAVY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You are in error, in the *Nation* of September 28, 1893, concerning the additional rank and pay given to assistant surgeons and assistant paymasters over young men "holding similar positions" in the line of the navy. The motive or intention of the statute in giving such appointees from civil life a "ranking date" of six years prior to their actual appointment, and a slight increase of pay over officers of corresponding rank in the line—that of ensign—is not to enable the appointing power to pay political debts or confer personal favors. On examination you will find that the seeming inequality of rank and pay is based on *simple justice*. Men appointed to the medical or pay corps of the navy have attained the age of twenty-one or more years, and, unlike the young men of the line, have not been during those six years (prior to a tax on the public treasury for their education, but have acquired the latter at a considerable personal expense to themselves; hence the meagre measure of compensation, "a ranking date of six years prior."

The slight difference of pay is based on the greater responsibilities attached to the duties of the junior officers of the staff over those of the same rank in the line, together with the provision of larger pay (relatively) for the latter as they advance in rank. The real injury done the service by the last Administration was the appointment of young men to the pay corps of the navy who had been "dropped" from the Naval Academy. Such appointments should be made only from *graduates* of our colleges and universities or the Naval Academy.

B.

NOVEMBER 24, 1893.

#### A WOMAN'S DOCTORATE AT HEIDELBERG.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Friends of the highest education for women will be interested to hear a German university report progress. The Philosophical Faculty of the University of Heidelberg has just determined for the first time to admit a woman to examination for the doctorate. The candidate is the daughter of the famous Pandectist, Professor Bernhard Windscheid of Leipzig, and her major subject lies in the field of Romance Philology. This startling innovation upon settled academic usage, and, what is more, upon the recognized proprieties of life, was not effected without a struggle, in which

the champions of the successful cause were Professors Osthoff, Braune, and Neumann. Professor Osthoff has broken many a lance for various goodly heterodoxies, and it seems to be characteristic of German present-day liberalism that it develops all-round heretics; but still, the World's Congress which brought the professor on a visit to America and incidentally to various universities, will claim some of the credit for this particular outburst of heresy. Those who had opportunity to note the interest shown by the various German professors travelling in the country the past summer in the problems of woman's higher education and in all our accounts of practical experience concerning it, will continue to put their trust in the seed department of the World's Congresses.

BENJ. I. WHEELER.

ITHACA, December 18, 1893.

#### SICILY AND IRELAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On page 344 of the *Nation* for November 9, 1893, in a letter on the "Unrest in Sicily," by "J. W. M.," it is stated that in Ireland the land question is simply a question between landlord and tenant, whereas "in Sicily it is the question of two-thirds of the population—of the real, actual sole tillers of the soil—that is at stake." The writer of these words is probably quite unaware that they describe almost exactly the position and circumstances of the Irish tenant farmers, the great majority of whom are peasants, tilling with their own hands their small plots of ground, averaging about thirty acres, and in thousands of cases not exceeding four or five acres, in extent; said peasant farmers forming, with their families, not far from two-thirds of the population of Ireland.—Yours truly,

E. HARVEY.

GRANGE, WATERFORD, IRELAND, December 9, 1893.

#### VANDALISM OF THE AUTOGRAPH-HUNTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If the preservation of court records intact should hereafter become a matter of importance to litigants, what disappointment and annoyance, not to say injustice, is in store for our posterity! Here and there the mutilation of such documents has been found out, but it may be believed that vastly more of it has not been. For instance, it is doubtful whether a single signature of Abraham Lincoln to a court paper can be found attached thereto. They have been cut out by curiosity-hunters without compunction or regard for possible future complications. I have it from the mouth of an ex-judge, who knew Lincoln, that this is true of several counties. An officer of the present government not long since boasted at an evening party that he had stolen such signatures by connivance with the custodian of the county papers. If similar plundering has been committed in other parts of the country, the records must be in a sorry plight. The descent from autograph-stealing to the pilfering of whole papers is easy, and suggests an ugly state of affairs.

M.

#### MR. CONWAY AND HIS CRITICS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are several expressions in the communication of Mr. Moncure D. Conway, printed in the *Nation* of December 21, which

call for some reply from me as the editor of the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, in which was published the review of the 'Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock' which has given him so much umbrage. Mr. Conway speaks of this review as an "attack," declares that it is a "tissue of misrepresentations," and, in substance, asserts that it was the work of a lurking enemy. Now I wish to deny most emphatically the correctness of all these imputations. As the person responsible for the admission of the review to the pages of the magazine, I desire to say for myself that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Conway, have never had any correspondence with him, and feel only such interest in him as I do in a hundred other living authors who enjoy an equal degree of reputation. In order that he might have the fullest opportunity to defend himself, it has given me sincere pleasure to admit to the pages of the January number of the magazine a reply from him to the original review in detail—a reply which, as soon as it was submitted to me, I accepted unhesitatingly. The reply, accompanied by notes by the writer of the review, is now in print and will appear in the magazine when issued in January.

So far as the writer of the review is concerned, Mr. Conway is entirely mistaken in his surmise. The writer is a Virginian by descent, birth, and education; a young man bearing a name of the highest respectability in Virginia, a resident of the State during the whole of his life, and yielding to no one in his love of Virginia or his interest in all that is promotive of its true fame. With the possible exception of President Lyon G. Tyler of William and Mary College, there is no one in our commonwealth who has the same fund of information relating to the more obscure aspects of its social and economic history in colonial times—an information acquired after long and careful study of the great mass of original manuscripts now in our county courts, our State Library, the archives of our State government, and in private collections.

Like myself, the writer had no personal acquaintance with Mr. Conway and not the smallest desire to be unjust or unfair to him. The tartness of the review arose from the excusable impatience of a thoroughly informed historical student in noting the inflated tone, the inaccurate statements, and the careless methods which the 'Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock' exhibits in so marked a degree. The review was not signed, for the same reason that the review of Campbell's 'Puritan in America, Holland, and England,' which appeared in the previous number of the magazine, was not signed—namely, it is not customary under the circumstances. A certain brusqueness in the tone of the review was in a measure due to the fact that I was forced to prune and condense the manuscript in many parts owing to restriction in my space. It is only proper to say that a volume of Mr. Conway's book is in our State library, and was, therefore, a legitimate subject for review.

I not only thought the criticism a fair one, but it seemed to me to be peculiarly appropriate to the character of the new magazine of the Virginia Historical Society, a periodical which begins its existence with a determined purpose to promote in Virginia a more exact, searching, and exhaustive spirit in historical inquiry, by condemning all tendency to foolish overstatement and empty partisanship, and by insisting upon a thorough examination of all the unpublished, as well as the published, documents of our history as the only true means of reaching a correct judgment. It is

an unfortunate feature of the situation of the people of our State, rapidly as they are now recovering from the ruin of the war, that the men among us who are most capable of doing the most valuable historical work are compelled to devote their time exclusively to bread-winning. There are, however, many indications of a growing interest among cultivated Virginians in the history of their State, and I have reason to think that with few exceptions they are disposed to agree with me, as well as with the reviewer of Mr. Conway's book, that Virginia has too many substantial claims to the respect of the historian to attach any real value to romantic exaggerations shadowed forth by vague tradition or created by an opulent and irresponsible imagination.

PHILIP A. BRUCE.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
RICHMOND, Va., December 22, 1893.

#### SUNDRY "AMERICANISMS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following passage is transcribed from p. 32 of Colonel T. W. Higginson's *Hints on Writing and Speech-making*, which has only just fallen in my way:

"To be sure, the inelegancies with which we are chiefly reproached are not distinctively American: Burke uses 'pretty considerable'; Miss Burney says, 'I trembled a few'; the English Biblesays 'reckon'; Locke has 'guess,' and Southey, 'realize,' in the exact sense [sic] in which one sometimes hears them [sic] used colloquially here. Nevertheless, such improprieties are, of course, to be avoided; but, whatever good Americanisms exist, let us hold to them, by all means."

On the expressions impugned above I purpose to comment briefly.

*Pretty considerable*, found in Fielding, Smollett, and Burke, is countenanced by Hallam also:

"Of *pretty considerable* value." Fielding, *Tom Jones* (1750).

"A *pretty considerable* estate." Smollett, *Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760).

"The booty was *pretty considerable*." *Id.*, *Humphry Clinker* (1771).

"To the faculty of law was joined a *pretty considerable* proportion of the faculty of medicine." Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), p. 64 (2nd ed.).

"Divisions soon arose among themselves about the use of the English service, in which a *pretty considerable* party was disposed to make alterations." Hallam, *Constitutional History* (1827), vol. i., p. 168 (ed. 1842).

The quotations from Fielding and Smollett, the references of which are defective, are taken from marginal notes entered, by me, in the first edition of Mr. Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, upwards of forty years ago.

Burke's *pretty considerable*—and equally that of Hallam and the rest—there is no good reason to find grave fault with; but, from the general way in which it is spoken of by Col. Higginson, it might be thought that English authority was producible for such blamable locutions as "he is *pretty considerable* of an orator" and "*pretty considerable* disappointed," familiar in some parts of the United States.

Not irrelevant, in connexion with *pretty considerable*, are these quotations:

"I attempted to fatten two middle-sized bacon-hogs with carrots; after having been two months, or near the matter, in the sty, I found that, as they were young, they had grown *pretty considerably*, but continued as lean as when I put them up." Burke (1770), *Correspondence* (1844), vol. i., p. 246.

"*Pretty considerably* shocked." Miss C. M. Yonge, *Heir of Redclyffe* (1853), ch. xxv.

"I found myself, on the day after my return,

'pretty considerably tired,' to borrow a phrase from our American friends." Mr. J. W. Bowden (1836), in Cardinal Newman's *Letters* (1891), vol. ii., p. 182.

Burke would, certainly, not have done amiss, if only for simplicity, in preferring a *good deal* to *pretty considerably*, and "our American friends" would better have preferred *not a little* to it. For all that, their phrase is passable, except on the view that, irrespectively of circumstances, it is reasonable and seasonable to be rigorously exacting in point of taste.

A few, for a little, occurs in Miss Burney's *Diary* (1778); and it should have been noted that she clearly intended it as mere slang, just as it is in Murphy's *Citizen* (1761): "Mind me, when I . . . throw my eyes about a few." And here may be mentioned, as interesting obsolescences, Milton's "fit audience find, though few"; "a few company," which Swift wrote in 1711; and also the Scotch and provincial English "a few broth."

*Reckon*, in the sense of 'consider,' 'deem,' of 'make account,' 'count on it,' or of 'surmise,' 'suspect,' is not now very common, as a literary term; and yet no vulgarity attaches to its quaintness. The Bible-revisionists, among whom were Americans, have not dislodged it from *Romans* viii., 18. In conversation, it is quite as current in England as it is in our own country, and is, observedly, in better repute here than there. No judicious British critic, one may be positive, would censure the colloquialism, "I reckon he is at home," which, yet, Dr. Webster's editors (1880) proscribe outright. More than this, the *reckon* under discussion has the occasional support of English writers, modern and comparatively modern, of unimpeachable respectability:

"The best editions of ancient authors should be the first things, I reckon, in a library." Thomas Gray (1746), *Works* (ed. 1858), vol. iii., p. 13. Gray thus uses *reckon* in three other places.

"They reckon they were sacrificed," etc. Sir C. H. Williams (1747), *Works* (1822), vol. ii., p. 232.

"I reckon to go next week to Ashbourne." Dr. Johnson (1770), *Letters* (1788), vol. i., p. 26.

"I reckon that I shall have a hump-back." Dr. Charles Burney, *Memoirs of Metastasio* (1796), vol. ii., p. 78.

"Since that time, we have both been equally busy, I reckon, in gleaning up such little odd tortures, of all sorts, as we had left behind at our general harvest." Rev. James Beresford, *The Miseries of Human Life* (1806), vol. i., p. 281.

"The philosopher who contemns it [glory] has every rogue in his sect, and may reckon that it will outlive all others." W. S. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations* (1824), vol. ii., p. 605 (ed. 1826).

"If the Landgrave knew that Michael Klotz was in Klosterheim, I reckon that all the ladies in St. Agnes could not beg him a reprieve till to-morrow morning." Thomas De Quincey, *Klosterheim* (1832), p. 228.

"We lost no time, after my visit to Cuddesdon: for we reckoned that we were more likely to have good weather before Christmas than after." Rev. Dr. William Whewell (1847), in *Life* (1881), p. 347.

"You may have more to bear than you reckon for, when you find yourself with men of rude minds and vulgar manners." Cardinal Newman, *Loss and Gain* (1848), p. 330.

"But he wasn't likely to do the Ogre much harm, I reckon." Sir George W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (1859), p. 131.

"He makes but a tight fit, I reckon." George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (1871-72), vol. ii., p. 59.

A mass of kindred quotations from Samuel Richardson, Foote, and others is, for brevity, omitted.

*Guess*, we are told above, has the sanction of Locke. But, that what is intended, namely, the reprehensible American use of the verb, was anticipated by him, is an assertion which

it would be very surprising indeed to see substantiated. For the verb *guess* I find three passages from Locke cited by lexicographers; and, in all of them, it bears its ordinary signification. Mr. J. R. Lowell writes, in the Introduction to the Second Series of the *Biglow Papers*: "I have never seen any passage adduced where *guess* was used as the Yankee uses it." On the other hand, Professor Schele De Vere has the hardihood to say, though independently of anything whatever like proof: "There is no lack of evidence that the word has been used in England, from time immemorial, and by the best writers, in precisely the same sense in which it is now employed by Yankees." Moreover, Dr. Webster's Editors (1880) are so ill informed as to pronounce: "It is a gross vulgarism to use the word *guess*, not in its true and specific sense, but simply for *think* or *believe*; as, I *guess* the mail has arrived; I *guess* he is at home." On the contrary, the expressions given as illustrating "a gross vulgarism" are wholly irrefragable; their *guess* denoting 'incline to think,' 'be disposed to believe.' That, in the quotations about to follow—easily multipliable tenfold, from the literature of the fourteenth century onward—many persons, if they were to read them without being aware of their sources, would condemn the use of *guess* as an Americanism, may be taken for granted:

"And, I *guess*, this is not now ever likely to be done." Bishop Warburton (1744), *Works* (1811), vol. xi., p. 234.

"By all I can pick up from ancient authors, I *guess* he [Pelagius] was both a wise and a holy man." Rev. John Wesley (no date), in Southey's *Life of Wesley* (1820), vol. ii., p. 133, foot-note.

"Well, then, Mr. Trip, you have a pleasant sort of place here, I *guess*?" Sheridan, *School for Scandal* (1777), Act. III., Scene II.

"I should *guess* it to be one of the oldest dwelling-houses in the kingdom." Southey, *Espriella's Letters* (1807), vol. ii., p. 135.

"This, I *guess*, is all one as if you should say, it was hot or cold, white or black, round or square." Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, *King Charles the First*, etc. (1828), p. 151.

"In what manner Æschylus explained the origin of this connexion we have no means of *guessing*." Bp. Thirlwall, in the *Philological Museum*, vol. ii., p. 149 (1833).

"And, in prospect, it must, of course, have looked more alarming than we can *guess* from our retrospect." Mr. James Spedding, *Evenings with a Reviewer* (1848), vol. i., p. 325 (ed. 1881).

"But the Catholic Church isn't St. Paul quite, I *guess*." Cardinal Newman, *Loss and Gain* (1848), p. 107. This, of course, is ironical.

The true state of the case regarding the verb *guess* in America is, that, while it is employed there, rather than its practical synonyms, much more frequently than in England, it not seldom, especially in the Eastern States, "implies a confident certainty," as Mr. Lowell says. "Are you sure that your statement is correct? Yes, I *guess* I am." "Bein' the mercury is at zero, I *guess* it is pretty cold." "I must start now for Boston, and I *guess* I shall." Here are genuine Americanisms, reminding a dweller in East Anglia of the expletive "That du fare to rain right tidy," "How do you fare to be, mate?"

*Realize*, as treated by Dr. Worcester, has, for its third definition, "to make certain, to substantiate," on which the lexicographer remarks:

"This word, in the sense of *to make certain* or *substantial*, has been reputed an Americanism; but Dr. Duglison says of it that 'it is universal in England in this very sense.'—It is also used in America . . . in the sense of *to feel* or *bring home to one's mind* as a *reality*, or *to feel strongly*; and this latter sense is not without English authority," etc.

Which of the senses thus illustrated Colonel Higginson has in mind, where he refers to Southey—whose *realize*, 'gain,' in three places is not, I conceive, arraigned—is not specified; but neither of them is a novelty in Great Britain, and the latter, which seems to be the older, was not unknown a hundred and sixty years ago:

"That God is everywhere present, and we always present to Him, is certain; but, that we should always be able to *realize* His presence is quite another thing." Mrs. Susanna Wesley (1733), in Mrs. Eliza Clarke's *Susanna Wesley* (1886), p. 172.

"It [faith] gives evidence and subsistence to things not seen, and *realizes* the great truths of the gospel, so as that they become abiding and living principles of support and direction, while we are passing through this wilderness." Rev. John Newton, Letter VI., in *Forty-one Letters*, etc. (1777 or earlier).

Many more similar quotations, including seven from Cardinal Newman, are at hand; but, instead of copying them, I subjoin three extracts from the *Letters* (1881) of a late very learned prelate, Bishop Thirlwall, to whom the temptation to "speak Yankee" was such that, in order to deliver his mind to his satisfaction, he lost little time in dismissing his scruples about yielding to it:

"How happy it is for us that we are totally unable to *realize* (if I may speak Yankee) such a calamity as the cyclone!" Vol. ii., p. 22 (March 13, 1863).

"I am truly thankful for the sight of the photograph, which enables me perfectly to *realize* the object which presented itself to the eyes," etc. Vol. ii., p. 25 (April 22, 1863).

"I have always been better able to *realize* such stories, since I had my experience," etc. Vol. ii., p. 156 (1868).

Patronage and popular chronology are thus combined in the *Saturday Review*:

"The study of ancient coins may be specially useful in teaching us to *realize*, in modern phrase, the men whose names we read, whose lineaments we scan, on the very pieces of metal which they and their contemporaries handled." Vol. ii., p. 356 (1856).

F. H.

MARLESPOND, ENGLAND, Sept. 20, 1893.

## Notes.

A WORK on 'The Constitution of the United States at the End of the First Century' has been prepared by ex-Gov. George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, and will be published at an early date by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

A complete edition of the works of Turgenieff, in ten or twelve volumes, newly translated by Mrs. Garnett, is the gratifying announcement of the London publisher, William Heinemann.

The first issue of the "Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State" (Washington) is welcome, as evidence of a desire on the part of the custodians of the historical treasures in that department to make them of use to the public. The old system of mystery, secrecy, and exclusion was defensible only on the ground that the manuscripts were not in a condition to be handled; and so rapidly has the labor of repairing, properly mounting, binding, and cataloguing the various collections progressed as to make that system no longer of avail. It is now intended to issue lists of the more important papers in the historical collections, and this Bulletin is the beginning of a plan for which we have nothing but praise. The type is clear, the margins generous, and the proof-reading generally accurate. The general titles of the volumes of records of the Continental Congress are given,

and a portion of what appear to be miscellaneous letters and papers in those records. It is well to exhibit the general character of the deposits at the start, and follow it up with more detailed and particular "calendars" of each collection. As an appendix, the appointments of delegates to the Convention of 1787 are printed from the original notifications to Congress. The Bulletin promises to be of special interest to students of American history.

After a long suspension, the "Mermaid Series," containing "the best plays of the old dramatists," has been resumed with "Ben Jonson, Vol. I.," edited by Brinsley Nicholson, M.D., with an introduction by C. H. Herford (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons). This volume contains "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour," and "The Poetaster," and will be followed by two others completing the selections from Ben Jonson. The series is useful in rendering these plays accessible in cheap form to the general reader. In the change of publishers the make-up of the volumes has decidedly deteriorated. This volume is inferior to the preceding in paper, printing, and binding, and the proof-reading seems to have been left to anybody who would do it. There are numerous errors of the press, and the impression is sometimes badly blurred. The scholarly introduction of Mr. Herford will not make up for these deficiencies, and if (as an advertisement informs us) the price of each volume is to be raised, after January 1, from \$1.00 to \$1.25, an accurate and clean text, good paper, and strong binding should be assured.

"The Ethical Library" is the title chosen for a new "series" to be edited by J. H. Muirhead, and to deal with questions of the inner and the outer life in a constructive way and from the standpoint of science and philosophy. The first volume, "The Civilization of Christianity, and Other Studies," by Bernard Bosanquet (London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan) conforms to the prospectus in the absence of the polemic spirit, and in the unpretending, but thoughtful and analytic, fashion with which it deals with various matters of religious and humanitarian theory and practice. We would single out as especially fitted for reading by people who feel the unusual temptation, just now, to indiscriminate charity, the paper on "Right and Wrong in Feeling," wherein giving for the sake of pleasing the giver is carefully kept apart from giving for the sake of benefiting the recipient. The promise of future volumes by Prof. Sidgwick, Leslie Stephen, and others has an enticing sound.

"Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome," by William Morris and E. Belfort Bax (London: Sonnenschein; New York: Scribners), contains an unwavering exposition of the socialistic creed, based upon what the authors consider to be the testimony of history. It might be said that if the future of society is conceived with no more verisimilitude than the past is described, our knowledge is not greatly increased; but few will deny the sincerity of these writers.

It is hardly necessary to do more than refer to "Outlines of Economics," by Prof. Richard T. Ely (Hunt & Eaton), as this writer has so frequently laid his views before the public. Although this book scarcely rises to the level of a scientific treatise, it may be read in places with entertainment and not without profit, but it can hardly be recommended for use in colleges where the works of Peter Parley and John S. C. Abbott are not included in the historical curriculum.

Alexander Black's "Photography In-doors and Out" (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) bears for sub-title "a book for amateurs," and is, on the whole, calculated to be of use to that ever-increasing class. A brief review of the history of photography, containing interesting information, precedes the manual proper, in which instruction is given clearly and succinctly. In this part a good deal of sound advice is tendered, which, if followed, will certainly enable the amateur to obtain satisfactory results instead of the abortions too frequently exhibited to friends. But there are some shortcomings: the acid fixing bath, one of the most valuable of recent improvements, is barely touched upon; there is no mention of the cold process in platinum printing, or of the hypo process in bromide work, while carbon printing should either have been fully treated of or not mentioned at all. There are many excellent diagrams and capital half-tone prints by way of illustrations.

M. Octave Uzanne's "The Book-hunter in Paris" has been brought out in English dress by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. The book, which, as we noticed a year ago, tells in pleasant, gossipy fashion of the bookstalls on the Paris quays, of the keepers and especially of the frequenters of the stalls, makes very good reading for leisure moments. It is well translated and well got up.

Tait, Sons & Co. issue a large-paper edition of Mr. Henry Irving's interesting volume of addresses on "The Drama," limited to 300 copies, all signed by the author and all adorned with a photogravure of Mr. Whistler's portrait of Mr. Irving—a portrait far more characteristic of the artist than of the actor.

Mr. E. G. Browne, to whom we are indebted for the translation of the "Traveller's Narrative," or "The Episode of the Bab" (1891) now follows this up with the "Tarikh-i-Jadid," or "New History of the Bab" (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan). The difference between the two works is this, that while the former is written in the interests of Beha (the later leader of the movement, who died at Acre last year), the latter takes us back to an earlier period, dealing with the original Bab and his apostles and martyrs. Mr. Browne has added a long outline of Mirza Jani's still earlier history (the original text of which, it is hoped, may be published) and the Persian text of a short account of the movement by Subh-i-Ezel (the Babist leader living in Cyprus). The materials for the estimation of this strange and problematical religious movement are thus increasing in quantity, and our thanks are due to Mr. Browne and to the Syndics of the University Press for collecting and bringing out manuscripts of so important a nature.

Under the title, "The Mummy" (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan), Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum furnishes an excellent handbook for persons interested in Egyptian antiquities. The funeral archaeology is full, and the author has added a descriptive list of the gods, an outline of the history, and a long and interesting account of the Rosetta stone. The illustrations are numerous and good, and the book in all respects well executed.

For the guidance of young students Prof. M. R. Vincent's "Student's New Testament Handbook" (Charles Scribner's Sons) may be heartily commended. It contains a digested list of books bearing on the various lines of New Testament study. We miss references to Paul de Lagarde and the Oxford *Studia Biblica*.

While the French have been for years occu-

pying themselves with the Arabic dialect of Algiers, the English have heretofore done nothing for modern Arabic, confining themselves in India to the languages proper of that land. Now, however, their occupation of Egypt has borne fruit in the "Practical Arabic Grammar" of Major A. O. Green, the third edition of which has just been completed by the issue of Part II. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan). This Part contains a key to Part I., reading selections, vocabularies, and forms. Admirably printed, it cannot fail to be useful to the army officers for whom it was prepared. It gives, however, the modern literary, not the vulgar speech.

Prof. Max Müller, in a letter to the *London Times*, says that the King of Siam, "a Pali scholar and a student of Buddhist literature," has offered to give "a sufficient sum for the continuance of the translations of the sacred books of the East." This series, consisting of forty-nine volumes, had been closed for want of funds. It is proposed to apply the King's gift to the publication of the remaining portions of the "Tripitaka," "in order to enable a larger public to appreciate the truth and beauty, if not of esoteric, at least of real and historical Buddhism, of that Buddhism which teaches all men to bear affliction with a hopeful spirit, and not to return hatred by hatred, but to overcome evil by good."

M. Émile Faguet has added to his series of excellent studies on the great French writers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries an equally valuable volume on the principal writers of the sixteenth century (Paris: Lecène, Oudin & Cie.). The accurate judgment and great didactic powers of M. Faguet are as conspicuous in the present volume as in his former ones; dull indeed would the student be who, after reading these pages, failed to have a clear understanding of the genius or talent of each of the writers treated of. M. Faguet knows exactly what points should be brought out and how much or how little they should be dwelt on, and he excels in making his meaning absolutely clear. As he thoroughly understands his author, he makes the reader also understand him. Eight writers—Comynes, Marot, Rabelais, Calvin, Ronsard, Du Bellay, D'Aubigné, and Montaigne—form the subjects of as many studies, which are in every way "literary studies." That on Calvin is particularly lucid, that on Ronsard appreciative, and as for that on Montaigne, it is as delightful as one of the "Essais" themselves.

Amblard & Meyer frères have brought out in the "Collection Lemerre illustrée" four additional volumes: Theuriet's "L'Abbé Daniel," Musset's "Frédéric et Bernerette," "Le Fils du Titien" with "Croisilles," and Stendhal's "L'Abbesse de Castro." They are most convenient for the pocket and taking to the eye, except as regards the necessarily rather fine print.

A Russian poetess, Olga de Bézobrazoff, is the author of two volumes of French verse, "Poussière d'étoiles" (Paris: Savine), in which the influence of Victor Hugo seems to mingle with a trace of the symbolism of these latter days. The verse is not always verse—frequently it is but rhymed prose, and hard to grasp at that; yet the poet's object, as stated in the introduction and confirmed by the dedication to Leconte de Lisle, is to unite beauty and truth, science and poetry. There are occasional fine passages, but, on the whole, the meaning of the poems is not clear, the language is vague and frequently stilted, and the inspiration slight.

Westermann & Co. send us the two great world's annuals of government and of learning

for 1894, viz., the *Almanach de Gotha* in its 131st year and *Minerva* in its third. The chief novelty in the ever self-renewing *Almanach* is to be found in the genealogical tables relating to princely non-ruling houses. In order to show (or to provide a clue to) the ramifications of the greater families, every title of prince or duke borne by any member of the class in question is inserted in its alphabetical place with a reference to the more distinguished family, as, "Civitella-Cesi, v. Torlonia," "Ayen, v. Noailles"; and again there is a reference from the patronymic name to the title, as "Cavendish, v. Devonshire," "(Leveson-Gower), v. Sutherland," "(Lévis-Mirepoix), v. San Fernando Luis." Among the four portraits figure the new Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, in place of the late Duke Ernest and his consort.

*Minerva* omits some introductory matter in favor of greater amplification of its essential function to exhibit the character, personnel, etc., of the universities, institutes, libraries, etc., of civilized nations; it has overhauled its transliteration of Russian names on a uniform system, in which it is refreshing at least to see the *v* expel the alien *w*; and it gives for the first time a geographical index to its contents. The invaluable personal index of officers, instructors, etc., though enlarged one-tenth, continues to be in a plain round letter which makes consultation easy. The American portion presents great difficulties from the vastness of the field, but the enlargement goes on, as may be seen under Hanover, and doubtless we shall some day see the University of Nebraska noticed as well as that of Kansas, and other Southern universities besides those now included. The frontispiece portrait, last year of Mommsen, is this year of Pasteur, in honor of his seventieth birthday.

The tenth Bulletin of the Weather Bureau is an elaborate discussion of the "Climate of Chicago," by H. A. Hazen. The lake breeze is among the most notable local features; it prevails in the wind averages for afternoon hours during the warmer months. An interesting consequence of the difference of temperature between the prairies and the lake is seen in the statement that cumulus clouds, approaching the lake from the west or southwest, may increase in size until the lake is reached; then they soon dissolve away. Day after day in the summer time, these clouds stand like giants over the land, while the sky is free from them over the lake. The Bulletin contains numerous tables and diagrams of various climatic elements, with an explanatory text.

Among the many interesting essays published by the Verein zur Verbreitung naturwissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse in Vienna, mention may be made of one by Dr. August Böhm of the technical school in that city, on the land-sculpturing action of the glacial period. Dr. Böhm maintains with well-directed argument the view that the marginal lakes of the Alps and nearly all the smaller lakes among the mountains are of glacial origin. He gives a remarkable account of the disappearance of lakes by filling up basins and cutting down outlets, since the disappearance of the ancient glaciers. In the Tyrol alone, one hundred and eighteen lakes represented on the maps of the last century no longer exist, being now replaced by peat bogs and meadows. In Norway, Dr. Böhm thinks the rivers, which are hardly more than strings of lakes, represent a less advanced stage of recovery from glacial action; while in the Alps, where the old glaciers presumably retreated sooner than from Norway, a further

return towards continuous river flow has been reached.

The October Library Bulletin of Cornell University describes with some detail the three remarkable gifts to the library during the current year, viz., the Monk (law) library, the Zarneke (philological and German literary) library, and Prof. Willard Fiske's Dante collection. Of these we have already spoken. They add about 27,000 volumes to the library, which now numbers very nearly 150,000.

In his Providence *Book-Notes* for December 16 Mr. S. S. Rider pieces together some recent bits of evidence touching the date of Roger Williams's death, and fixes it between March 17 and April 25, 1681.

An admirable addition to the well-known portrait gallery of F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, is his imperial photograph of the late John Tyndall. The strongly-marked face is a frank index of character, as well as of racial affinity, and the likeness is a fortunate souvenir of Tyndall's visit to this country.

—At the last annual meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society (December 14), 7,500 books and pamphlets were reported as added to the library during the year. A new department had been added to the museum by the purchase of 250 specimens of prehistoric pottery from graves in Missouri and Arkansas. A monograph was read concerning a curious financial feature during French domination on the Mississippi which seems to have escaped the research of Mr. Parkman. His only remark regarding French fiat money thus far discovered, is, that "the Mississippi Company within two years changed the value of the currency to the amount of 80 per cent." (*Half-Century of Conflict*, ii., p. 806). The paper, by Dr. Devron of New Orleans, first touched upon pasteboard money under Louis XIV., and his edict that a coin passing for fifteen sols in France should be current at twenty in the colonies. This was an echo of Jack Cade's decree, "There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny, and the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops." But the main ordinances were framed in the reign of Louis XV., onward from his second year. They appeared in the King's name, but were doubtless drawn up according to the caprices of the Mississippi Company, which had unlimited powers. In 1722 that corporation, having minted 200 pounds of copper, sent it to America, with orders that it pass as a legal tender for all debts, even those previously contracted. Little of it, however, was forced into circulation, and that slowly. By way of illustrating this fact, a letter from the first curate of New Orleans was cited. He wrote: "There are few offerings for masses, etc., and these are in copper coin which is valued so low that when, in my sickness, I sent everywhere to get a couple of eggs, I could not find them, though I offered several sous apiece. Those who sold reported that they could do nothing with our copper, and that if we had white money to give them, they had eggs to sell us." Then in 1724 the King—that is, the Company—issued an order that the nine-denier piece should henceforth pass for six. "This reduction," says Dr. Devron, "was of no effect in New Orleans, which to this day has never taken any fancy to any copper currency; the copper cents of the United States being used only to make payments or change at the post-office or custom-house, the nickel being now the only base metal piece used even among the poorest residents of New Orleans in any trade." The Company still persisted, and on October 31,

1726, decreed that copper should for all purposes be equal to Spanish dollars—for instance, that holders of letters of exchange should not demand payment in anything but copper at the value stamped upon it—notwithstanding any clauses which might be inserted in said letters—under a penalty of 300 livres as a fine, payable one-half to the informer and the other half to the hospital, and under the further penalty of the confiscation of his exchange, as well as of his being himself flogged and branded by the hand of the public executioner.

—At a special general meeting of the Hellenic Society held on November 27, in London, Mr. Arthur J. Evans described a remarkable acquisition recently made by the British Museum. This is nothing less than one of the most interesting groups of Mycenaean objects ever discovered—doubly noteworthy, indeed, as having been found not at Mycenae but on the island of Egina. To discover "Mycenaean" pottery in various parts of the Mediterranean basin is no new experience, and gold objects like those of Mycenae have been found in unexpected places, such as the Danube Valley and the Crimea; but the present Egina find is the most considerable and important since Schliemann's. Among the more remarkable objects of the treasure are "a gold cup with returning spiral and rosette ornament; an openwork gold pendant representing a kind of Egyptian figure in a lotos-tipped boat holding two water-birds, traceable to a familiar subject of Egyptian frescoes in which the fowler is seen standing in a Nile boat holding the trophies of his chase; four gold openwork ornaments with dogs and apes and pendant disks and owls; a jewel with a lion's head and pendant ducks, apparently suggested by a so-called Egyptian 'agis' with the head of the lion-headed goddess Sekhet; a crescent-shaped gold plate with terminals in the shape of sphinx-like heads; a series of necklaces of gold, carnelian, and amethyst beads with amulet pendants; fifty-four repoussé gold plates for sewing on the dress, gold diadems, bracelets, ring-money—representing a unit of 135 grains—and finger-rings, which, like some of the other jewels, had been set mosaic fashion with a glass-paste imitation of lapis-lazuli." A variety of concordant data led Mr. Evans to fix 800 B. C. as the approximate date of the deposit, and a very important fact brought to light by the ring-money of the find was that there already existed in Egina at the time of this deposit a pre-Pheidonian standard answering to the Euboic-Attic. This was in fact the old Mycenaean standard—probably derived from the Egyptian Kat—and could be traced in rings, etc., from the earlier shaft graves of Mycenae. In closing, Mr. Evans made public announcement of the interesting fact that he has now discovered, chiefly upon prism-shaped gems, some sixty hieroglyphic characters belonging to an alphabet used in Mycenaean days. The area where it is found goes southward as far as Crete, and it is possible that these signs may prove to be of kin with the hitherto undecipherable Cypriote alphabet.

—The title "Rome of To-day and Yesterday" (Boston: Estes & Lauriat) is rather misleading, for the book hardly deals at all with the modern but only with the ancient side of the city. It is a guide to the antiquities, but entirely without the dryness and brevity of the guide-book. And the writer, clearly well-read and cultivated, spares us the endless arguments on disputed questions, and the dissertations on little matters, which must necessarily beset the pages of more professed scholars. He loves rather to

linger over things which, though they may be of yesterday, yet are of all time because they speak to the heart. The figures of the worthies of old, the houses where they lived, the streets where they walked, the forum and the senate-house where they won their triumphs, the temples of their worship, and the monuments of their generosity or their ambition—we see them all and hear of each the story so familiar, yet ever welcome when well told. The book bears the sub-title of the "Pagan Centuries," and brings us down only to the middle of the fourth century of our era. "Mr. John Dennie" chats along in a familiar conversational style, and knows his subject so well and unfolds it so simply and so pleasantly that one finds it very hard to lay the book down.

—Such an outgiving as that of Prof. Ferrero, in last month's *New Review*, on "Woman's Sphere in Art," would call for no notice were not the title of professor prefixed to his name, and a preliminary scientific flourish (in which the words Darwin and *Amblyornis inornata* strike the eye) prefixed to the thoroughly unscientific pronouncement which constitutes the article. We shall not, on our side, pronounce that Prof. Ferrero is wrong in saying that because "the amatory instinct is feebler in woman than in man" it follows that women "lack the creative power in art, and, furthermore, do not even understand physical beauty"; though we do submit that a well-regulated mind ought to require some semblance of proof for such a proposition. Indeed, it is not for the purpose of noticing any of his positions in particular that we make mention of his article, but precisely to point out that it and its kind are unworthy of any more attention than the random speculations of any clever newspaper man. Even in the opening sentences, Ferrero finds room to exhibit his want of grasp of Darwinism; and in the rest of the article, not only is there a lack of even a superficial indication of scientific thinking, but the statements of fact are irresponsible in the extreme. We are told, among other things, that "Mrs. Wheeler and Miss Revere Johnson have decorated the interiors of nearly all the public buildings in the United States"! It seems like gilding refined gold to try to make this statement out to be worse than it is on its face; it becomes so, however, when, on looking up the authority on which it is based, we find it to have grown out of the following innocent remark of Mrs. Carter's: "Many interiors of dwellings and public buildings show that women decorators have worked successfully. The names of Mrs. Wheeler and Miss Revere Johnson are well known." There is, however, a test whose application, though less striking, is more truly indicative of the absence of sound thinking in the Ferreros and Lombrosos than are their errors in particular matters of fact. As soon as quantitative considerations have a bearing on the subject, they are as helpless as infants. Is it not amazing that a man of intelligence, after admitting the "great power" of several women—Sappho, George Eliot, etc.—should have the fatuity to say that "if it is impossible to find a Shakspeare among women, the fact is due to the greater rarity of the higher intellectual powers among them than among men"? How many Shakspeares have there been among men? And how many Shakspeares has Holland produced, for instance? Is it necessary to explain, by essential inferiority, the fact that among the infinitesimal proportion of women whose lives have opened to them such stimulus and oppor-

tunity as is open to most men, none has reached that eminence which has been attained at most by four or five of the countless millions of men?

#### LOWELL'S LETTERS.

*Letters of James Russell Lowell.* Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. 2 vols. Harper & Brothers. 1893.

MR. LESLIE STEPHEN, writing of the art of biography in the *New Review*, says that "letters, in the main, are the one essential to a thoroughly satisfactory life." Certainly they are a desideratum, yet the life of a man of action is rarely revealed much through his letters; and in the life of any very busy man his "epistolary correspondence," as our maiden aunts used to call it, represents only his odds and ends of time. Thoreau's remark about keeping a diary, that "we never can write in a diary what most interests us, because writing in the diary is not what interests us," is true of correspondence also. Then there is the drawback that the most vital and essential letters of a man's whole life—those representing the very crises of emotion or purpose—are often, for that very reason, unsuited to publication, and are rightly withheld. This very consideration, for instance, has deprived the volumes now before us of the most intimate and important letters which Lowell ever wrote—those to his first wife at the most formative and momentous period of his whole career. All these considerations show that a limit is to be set to that value which Mr. Stephen attributes to private letters as an element of biography. Nevertheless, it may truly be said that, so far as Mr. Norton's volumes represent Mr. Lowell, they represent him most delightfully and yet most fairly, and that there has not, on the whole, been a collection of English letters of such rich and varied quality since those of John Keats.

It is safe to say, also, that few collections of letters have ever had discreeter editorial handling. Prof. Norton is a man of strong convictions, which he sometimes states with such vigor as to seem almost defiant; but he has before now proved himself to possess a wholesome reticence as to himself, with a judicial quality as commentator. His visible contribution to these two large volumes covers but a few pages, but his careful touch is felt everywhere. In one or two cases he may have been unguarded as to letters referring to persons still living, but this is a thing very hard to avoid. His frank revelation of Lowell's earlier moods—here and there a tinge of morbidness, a shyness masking itself under self-assertion, a glimpse of over-consciousness—is simply admirable. Nothing is extenuated, nothing held up for censure. The marked transition, in Lowell, from an impetuous and aggressive youth to a benign and genial old age makes itself apparent without formal elucidation. It would have been very easy, for instance, to omit the fact that, in the storm-and-stress period of youth, Lowell once put a loaded pistol to his head but had not the courage to discharge it (ii., 375). Yet how important this fact in the biography of Lowell, nay, in the history of youth itself! Doubtless many a young man, just on the threshold of mature life, has toyed with just such a wayward impulse. The newspapers remind us from year to year that the temptation is not always resisted; and what a lesson is given in the fact that a career so brilliant and useful as Lowell's had been preceded by just such a morbid mood. With equal frankness is given the brief letter

(i., 51) announcing the fact, to him more momentous than he dreamed, of his first interview with Maria White. Here we see the door by which he escaped from this perilous period of uncertainty, and, like the hero of 'Sartor Resartus,' "immediately began to become a man." His subsequent correspondence with this strong and most attractive woman would further amplify this revelation, if we could have it thrown open before us; and all must respect the unusual dignity and courage of their only daughter in withholding these letters from the insatiable curiosity of the public.

The frankness with which these letters are edited gives us interesting self-revelations by Lowell as to some of his personal criticisms and animosities. In some cases, as in his allusions to what he wrote about Percival, Thoreau, and Masson—all these papers having been a good deal censured at the time for undue vehemence and acrimony—his letters show him quite unconscious of any such intention. The simple fact is, that he grew up under the critical school of Poe, when men practised a good deal of slugging, and thought all fair in the game. His more celebrated criticism on Margaret Fuller, which was perhaps the severest of these instances, receives a good deal of light in successive letters. It was more censured by dispassionate critics than any other of these extreme statements, because it was a mainly personal sarcasm in apparent retaliation for a purely literary criticism. Margaret Fuller had made no personal allusion, but had simply expressed the opinion, in a somewhat offhand and decisive manner, "his verse sounds no depths." The opinion showed want of discernment, though it is to be remembered that Lowell himself finally omitted from his revised works a large part of the poems on which it was founded. It is interesting now to find that Lowell himself demurred at putting her into the pillory of "The Fable for Critics," on the precise ground urged afterwards by others, that it would pass for a bit of retaliation. He writes to his friend Briggs (March 26, 1848): "I think I shall say nothing about Margaret Fuller (though she offer so fair a target), because she has done me an ill-natured turn. I shall revenge myself amply upon her by writing better" (i., 128). Nothing could have been manlier than this last sentence—but, unluckily, he says just after: "However, the temptation may be too strong for me." He yielded to it, but still convinces himself (i., 131), "with her I have been perfectly good-humored"; though he was unfortunately too hard a hitter for any one else to share this opinion. Even for himself, this bit of pleasing self-delusion did not last long, for he writes to Briggs once more (October 4), "If it be not too late, strike out these four verses in 'Miranda':

"There is one thing she owns in her own private right,  
It is native and genuine—namely, her spite;  
When she acts as a censor, she privately blows  
A censor of vanity 'neath her own nose."

Unfortunately, it was too late; the verses remained in the volume; nor were they struck out in the later editions, although Lowell afterwards erased most of those relating to Francis Bowen, whose fellow-professor he had meanwhile become. The fact that, after her heroic life and death, he still retained what he wrote about her, revived the discussion which was then dying out; and it is now very interesting to see, by his successive letters, upon how narrow a chance the whole origin of the feud depended.

All the drawbacks to Mr. Lowell's prose style, so laboriously dwelt upon by such critics as Wilkinson and Kirk, may be found in these

letters; the long sentences, the mixed metaphors, the occasional bad taste, the sparkle of trivial puns, are here also. He who could write of Milton, in a printed essay, "A true Attic bee, he made boot on every lip," and who would assert that no poet ever got much poetry out of a cataract except Milton, "and that was a cataract in his eye," would not be more guarded in his offhand letters; and what most proves him unconscious of these qualities is that he is sometimes most rollicking and nonsensical to some of the most dignified of his feminine correspondents. Indeed, that side of Lowell's nature, the pure bubble and ecstasy, the champagne quality, has never been so thoroughly exhibited as here; and the saying attributed to one of his Cambridge intimates, that "Lowell was always one bottle of champagne ahead of us all," is abundantly exemplified, in the figurative sense in which it was intended. His animal spirits were always too exuberant to make much demand upon any artificial exhilaration, although the temporary impulse under which he followed his wife into the total-abstinence movement (ii., 67) appears soon to have passed away. But it is a curious fact that, with all this insuperable vivacity, there was for many years a certain cumbrousness in his written sentences, traceable, perhaps, to the old English writers whom he loved. This he himself recognizes when he says, "My very style belongs to the last century, and drops too readily into the sententious and elaborately historical manner" (i., 309). He adds: "Believe me, I was lively once and may recover it; but I fear me much I have suffered a professor change that has gone too deep for healing." Here he deceives himself. This was written in 1866; but his style was then far less sententious and elaborate than when he wrote for the *Anti-Slavery Standard* nearly twenty years before; and this quality had been actually a ground of complaint among the readers of that paper. When Dickens established the *Daily News* in 1845 and got Lowell to write for it, there was general disappointment in the long-windedness of his communications. The truth is that he shortened his sword, instead of lengthening it, as time went on; and the probability is that "the professor change" was on the whole a help to him as to the habit of expression. There was certainly a period when his own style tended towards that quality which he calls, in the case of George P. Marsh, "congregational." The crisp and piquant quality was never far distant, but there were long paragraphs throughout which it was kept in abeyance. This was sufficiently visible in his "Conversations on Some Old Poets" (1845), where there was occasionally a sentence half a page long.

It is a curious fact that a constitutionally shy and modest man often gets the credit of undue self-assertion from the very effort he makes to overcome his natural reluctance. This was signally the case with Lowell; he never likes his own books, constantly belittles his own poems, constantly laments, in later life, his own shortcomings. Yet he was always a great talker, always given to monologue; wherever he sat, there was the head of the table; it was even said of him in youth, among his most intimate circle of friends, that he never was quite easy unless he led the conversation. It is recorded that at the old *Atlantic* dinners which preceded the "Literary Club" in Boston, he and Dr. Holmes sat at the two ends of the table, and did nearly all the talking. Amid all his social popularity in England, there recurred at times this same impu-

tation of excess. In the amusing papers attributed to Mr. George Russell on "Talk and Talkers of To-day" in the first numbers of the *New Review*, Lowell is highly praised for genuine wit and vast knowledge, but charged with "airy omniscience" and a "minute and circumstantial way of laying down the law." There is added a lively account, which has an irresistible verisimilitude for all who knew Lowell, about his gently taking her task out of the hands of the dignified custodian of an English castle, and telling her and the guests more about its history and traditions than she or anybody else knew before. Lowell himself says in one place: "I suppose it was the extreme solitude in which I grew up, and my consequent unconsciousness of any public, that made me so frankly communicative" (ii., 142). It should be remembered that even the love-poems of his youth were censured as unduly open to the public, and that the very letters which his daughter has now destroyed as too confidential were lent freely about, in their day, among a large circle of friends. The key to all this is to be found, no doubt, in the sentence just cited.

No book of our time is so crowded with "fine things said unintentionally," as was said of Shakspeare's sonnets by Lowell's favorite, Keats. Such are his casual sketches of persons—Andrew Johnson, "whose worst was that he meant well" (ii., 7); Secretary Chase, "a weak man with an imposing presence, a most unhappy combination" (ii., 7); the poet Gray, who holds his own with "little fuel, but real fire" (ii., 86); Rousseau, "a monstrous liar, but always the first dupe of his own lie" (ii., 424); the "Adams flavor, as unmistakable as that of the Catawba grape" (ii., 431); Dana, who "convinced without persuading" (ii., 432); his cook Mary, who was a cook "merely by a brevet conferred by herself" (ii., 79); the comparison of Wordsworth's poetry to the old baronial housekeeping—"what splendor and what sordidness in one" (ii., 367); the contrast between Parnell and his successor—"McCarthy occupies his throne as the two Kings of Brentford might. The Irish half of him will be always consulting the English half, and there will be no single sharp-edged will as before" (ii., 430). Then there is the delicious characterization of Sibley's "Lives of Harvard Graduates," of which he says: "It is the prettiest rescue of prey from oblivion I ever saw. . . . It is the very balm of authorship. No matter how far you may be gone under, if you are a graduate of Harvard College, you are sure of being dredged up again and handsomely buried, with a catalogue of your works to keep you down" (ii., 130).

The closing letters are more pathetic, as becomes a somewhat languid old age, yet the champagne sparkles to the last. The whole book leaves a wholesome and even delightful picture of Lowell at Elmwood, surrounded in his arm-chair by vast piles of books, reading twelve hours a day, in vacation (ii., 64), "one of the last of the great readers" (ii., 154), enjoying the blossoming of his elms, loving every living thing about him, even to the centipedes, for which his gout gave him a peculiar pity (ii., 436), and effervescing all the time with strokes of wit like these. While people assumed that his heart was in England, he was homesick when abroad and happiest at home, with an Americanism so pronounced that it perhaps explains the else insoluble problem why Longfellow should have been translated into all European languages and Lowell into none. It is pleasant that he should give us, from time to time, a glimpse of the deeper phi-

losophy which made him so full of sunshine:

"The more I learn, . . . the more my confidence in the general good sense and honest intentions of mankind increases. . . . The signs of the times cease to alarm me, and seem as natural as to a mother the teething of her seventh baby. I take great comfort in God. I think that he is considerably amused with us sometimes, but that he likes us, on the whole, and would not let us get at the match-box so carelessly as he does unless he knew that the frame of his Universe was fireproof" (ii., 51).

How many accumulated Bodies of Divinity and Collections of Posthumous Sermons would it take to make up as solid a platform of religious consolation as is condensed into this seeming irreverence?

#### EL DORADO.

*The Gilded Man, and Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America.* By A. F. Bandelier. D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 302. 1893.

IN this volume Mr. Bandelier, abandoning the line of research which he has hitherto followed with such marked success, traces to their respective sources the legends of El Dorado and of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and gives an account of the different expeditions that were sent out for the discovery of these semi-mythical regions. According to him, the first of these stories comes from South America, and refers to a people among whom gold was so plentiful that, on certain occasions, their chief was powdered with it, and in that condition was conducted to a lake where he was duly washed, the assembled company meanwhile throwing their gold and jewels into the water. The truth of this story and the consequent derivation of the term "El Dorado" (or, as our author translates it, "the Gilded") has been called in question, though of the fact itself Mr. Bandelier, evidently, has no doubt. Indeed, he even goes so far as to place the scene of the occurrence among the Muyscas who dwelt on the table-land of Bogotá, at or near Lake Guatavita. In this he is probably right. The earliest versions of the story tell us that the country of the *Dorado* was somewhere in that direction; and this fact, taken in connection with the booty found there in 1537, and the recovery from the lake of certain gold ornaments which are supposed to represent the ceremony, certainly favor the view, though they can hardly be said to establish it.

Be this as it may, there can be no doubt of the prevalence of the story or of its influence in stimulating the Spaniards and others in their efforts to discover the ever-shifting region to which it referred. To this end expedition after expedition was fitted out long after the Spaniards had reached the spot; and it is worthy of note that several of them were in the interest of Welser & Co., a German house, to whom a large slice of the northern part of South America had been granted as security for loans made to the Emperor Charles V. With the one exception, however, noted above, all these expeditions were practically barren of pecuniary returns. After incredible hardships the survivors of them, often a mere remnant, found their way back to civilization, bringing with them nothing but their arms and a knowledge, more or less accurate, of the regions they had traversed. This was certainly not the reward which they had expected, but in so far as it led to the settlement of the country it may be accepted as payment in full for all their expenditure of time, money, and human life.

In regard to the Seven Cities of Cibola and the Gran Quivira, which, for our purpose, may be considered as parts of the same legend, we are told that a similar story was known in Europe before the time of Columbus. With the progress, however, of discoveries in the West Indies, the fabulous island of Antilia—the supposed seat of the Seven Cities—disappeared, and but little was heard of them until A. D. 1530, when Nuno de Guzman was told of their existence somewhere in the region north or northeast of Mexico. "When, how, or where he heard" the story is uncertain; but Bandelier is probably not far wrong when he intimates that, so far from being of native origin, it was an adaptation from the whites, just as was the "seven caves," or, as it was soon written, "seven cities" (p. 128), from which the seven Nahuatl tribes are said to have proceeded. In 1536, a few years after Guzman's expedition, Cabeza de Vaca reached Mexico, having crossed the continent in the course of his wanderings. He did not have any gold or jewels, but the accounts he brought of a people who lived in permanent settlements, wore cotton clothes, etc., strengthened the belief of the Spaniards in the existence, somewhere to the north, of a region abounding in the precious metals. To reach this region then became a paramount object, and in 1539 Fray Marcos of Nice was sent out upon a reconnoitring expedition, in the course of which he reached Cibola and looked down upon one of its seven cities, though he did not enter it.

In the report he made of his journey he did not claim to have found either gold or jewels, but he repeated the stories told by the Indians, and although they were not entitled to much credence, yet they inflamed still more the imagination of the Spaniards, and led in the following year to the expedition of Coronado for the conquest of that region. Starting from Culiacan in the spring of 1540, he arrived at Cibola, or, as we now know it, Zuni, and took possession of the seven villages. Disappointed at not finding gold, and attracted by the stories of the New Mexican pueblos, he pushed on to the Rio Grande and wintered at or near where now stands the village of Bernalillo. With the return of spring, he again took up his line of march, and did not halt until he had reached the Quiviras, a wandering tribe who were living at that time in central Kansas, within "seven hundred miles" of the Mississippi. Finding neither gold nor jewels among these savages, and totally disheartened by his want of success, he turned his face homeward, and reached the City of Mexico in July, 1542, having been gone about two years and a half. On the return of this expedition, Cibola ceased to be a centre of attraction, though Gran Quivira was still a name to conjure with. The story, however, underwent a change and now took the shape of buried treasure. Under this form it has come down to our day, and it still lingers, in spite of the fact that Gran Quivira has been identified with the ruined pueblo of Tabira, and that neither Indian nor missionary ever had any treasure to bury.

To any one familiar with Mr. Bandelier's previous publications, it is needless to say that the present volume is quite up to his standard, even though there are portions of it which add but little to the sum total of our knowledge. This is especially true in what relates to Coronado's expedition, for here he works over material which he has already used, though it is proper to say that nowhere has it been collected and arranged in such a way as to emphasize the courage and endurance of the Spaniards, the rapidity with which they overran

the country, and the care and accuracy with which, under the most adverse circumstances, they recorded and preserved the details of their hard experience. Besides the investigation of these legends, Mr. Bandelier includes in this volume several other papers, in one of which he deals with the massacre of Cholula, and in another he follows the subsequent career of Jean L'Archèveque, the boy who led La Salle into the ambush in which he was murdered. In the first of these papers he examines the so-called massacre in the light of tradition and of certain Indian paintings preserved at San Juan Cuauhtlanzinco, and finds that it resolves itself into an attack upon the Indians in which Cortes anticipated by a few hours the execution of a plan they had matured for his destruction. In the second we are told that L'Archèveque, after his return from Europe, found his way into New Mexico about the year 1696. Here he married, and under the name of Archibeque his descendants may be found to-day. At first he is said to have been a soldier, but, abandoning this career, he became a merchant, and if we may judge from the amount of property he left, he was fairly successful. He was also prominent in the affairs of the province, and, having taken the oath of allegiance to Spain, he shared in the expedition sent out in 1720 to check the advance of the French up the Missouri, and was killed. For this curious bit of personal history Mr. Bandelier is indebted to the records of the Franciscans, preserved in the pueblo of Santa Clara. It was published a year or two ago in the *Nation*, and our object in calling attention to it at this time is to insist upon the importance of these and other records to any one engaged in studying the career of the Spaniards in America.

In conclusion we wish to acknowledge our obligation to Mrs. Thomas A. Janvier, upon whom, in the absence of Mr. Bandelier, the duty of editing this volume devolved. As a rule, she has done her work well, though there are times when the dates are somewhat confused. Thus, for example, we are told, p. 137, that Fray Marcos arrived in America in the year 1551, though we know (pp. 138, 139, etc.) that his expedition to Zuni-Cibola was made in A. D. 1539. There are other mistakes of a similar character, but it is unnecessary to refer to them more particularly. They are, fortunately, easy of detection, though they are none the less blemishes upon what is otherwise a good piece of editorial work.

#### ENGLISH THEORIES OF PRODUCTION.

*A History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776 to 1843.* By Edwin Cannan, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. London: Percival & Co.

THIS is a volume of importance not only to the professional student of political economy, but to all who look for guidance on the perplexing social and economic problems of the day to the writings of the economists of earlier and later fame. It is a history of the development of the essential doctrines set forth by the classic school of political economy; but it is something more than a history. Mr. Cannan is not only an accurate and scholarly historian, but an acute and unflinching critic. His book is by far the best account yet written of the history of economic thought in England from the time of Adam Smith to that of John Stuart Mill; it is also a searching examination of the doctrines of the famous writers of that epoch.

Are we still to turn to these writers to find sound principles of political economy, or must we overhaul the whole subject and reconstruct the science anew?

Before considering these questions, and the answers to them which Mr. Cannan's book suggests, we must do justice to the high quality of his historical work. He has gone over his material with scholarly completeness, and gives an unquestionably thorough account of the growth of the various doctrines of production and distribution. The theories of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Senior, Mill, and the rest of them are put before us as they really were held and presented by these thinkers, not as they have been construed and revised by their successors. The development of the various doctrines from writer to writer is followed with scrupulous accuracy. No economist can read the book without learning much that he had not before known, and without feeling indebted to Mr. Cannan for new light. We may add that there is an admirable index, a model in conciseness and completeness, which makes it easy to turn at once to Mr. Cannan's discussion of any part of his subject.

It is less important to know what the doctrines of the classic school were, and how they developed, than what is the truth about them: whether they are sound on the whole, or contain so much of error and exaggeration that they must be flung aside once for all. Although Mr. Cannan purports to give merely a history, his criticism is so severe and so unflinching that it is plain that he leans to the latter position. Hardly a doctrine or a writer among those which he takes up escapes without depreciating notice. Sometimes it is an acrid comment by the way; sometimes a long and elaborate refutation. Indeed, merely as a history, there is on its face something lacking in the book. Though the justice of every individual criticism here made should be admitted, it would still seem almost self-evident that there must have been some degree of merit, some progress in knowledge and understanding, in the writings of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, and Mill. The speculations of the mercantile writers who preceded them have sometimes been described as indeed of little worth in themselves, but as at least a necessary stage, preparatory for something better. Mr. Cannan has not even such scant praise as this for the unfortunate writers who come within his ken. Not a syllable of friendly acknowledgment can be found throughout his four hundred pages, while we have plenty of criticism, bitter comment, and sometimes unpleasant sneer. It requires all the respect to which his ability and scholarship entitle him not to revolt from some of his conclusions simply because of the acid temper in which they are set forth. As to the general significance of the classic doctrines, he states his views in the closing chapter very briefly and unequivocally: they may have done service in their day for England, by promoting the reform of the Poor Laws and the abolition of the Corn Laws, but as explanations of the phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth they are "unscientific and illogical," while as answers to the insistent questions of the socialists they are simply useless.

If a book of this temper had been published twenty or thirty years ago, the chances are that it would have been simply hooted down by the critics. The classic school then had full command of the field. Adam Smith and Ricardo were final authorities, and Mill's 'Political Economy' was accepted as containing what Mill had said in his preface it should

contain—"the latest improvements in the theory of the subject." But the times have changed mightily. First in Germany, then in the English-speaking communities, there was a revolt from the classic rule. Like every reaction, it bade fair at one time to swing too far, and indeed has now given way to a perceptible counter-movement. At present, economists have reached the stage of taking stock, so to speak, after the shock, and looking about to see where they stand, and what is left of the old structure. And here Mr. Cannan's book is helpful; but it might be more helpful. It tells us what we have lost, and where we must repair, but it exaggerates the losses, and does not show where the foundations remain substantially intact. Unquestionably, the ferment in economic discussion which began with the revolt from the "orthodox" domination, has made it certain that the traditional doctrines need a very thorough overhauling. No economist can now lay down the law in the confident tone which runs through Mill's once impeccable volumes, or deny that when the debates of the present have yielded their final outcome, we shall have an exposition of economic doctrines very different from Mill's. But, on the other hand, few would reject the classic doctrines as summarily as does Mr. Cannan, or set their scientific value as low as he does.

These general remarks may be illustrated by considering a specific doctrine, and its treatment at Mr. Cannan's hands. We will select, by way of example, the doctrine of saving as the explanation of interest. Adam Smith had laid it down that capital was created by saving, and had eulogized "parsimony" as the mainspring of all material progress. Senior had added the notion of "abstinence" as the origin of capital and as the sacrifice for which the capitalist got his reward in the form of interest. On Senior Mr. Cannan heaps criticism and ridicule, while "the conduct [abstinence] of which profit is the 'reward' has no name simply because it has no existence."

Now, the proposition that interest is the reward of abstinence, at best awkwardly stated by Senior and his followers, is an easy target for the carping critic; the more so as it has been often confounded with the very different proposition that interest at current rates is a fit and just reward for the abstinence of the individual capitalist. The abstinence of a Rothschild or a Vanderbilt is a favorite subject of ridicule; and Mr. Cannan speaks of "the comical result that a millionaire who saves £30,000 a year and spends £10,000 on himself, is more abstinent than a clerk who saves £10 a year and spends £100 on himself." The truth of the matter is that the mode in which capital is accumulated, and the reason why interest is paid, under a régime of private property, cannot be explained without a reference to this much-abused saving or (to use the term now coming into vogue) waiting. There would be no capital if there were no saving, and there would be no interest if saving were not usually an onerous act. On the other hand, there is nothing in this sort of reasoning to show that the payment of interest is right and just; and moreover there is nothing to indicate what are the terms on which the onerous act gets its reward, or, in other words, what fixes the rate of interest. The defence of capital and interest against the attacks of the socialists must rest, like the whole institution of private property, on a broader basis than that of the praiseworthiness of the capitalist's conduct and the merit of his individual abstinence. And as to the rate at which interest is

paid, it is doubtful if much is gained by supposing that it is merely such as to give the owner of capital a sufficient inducement to abstain. The effect of capital in increasing the productiveness of industry, and the mode in which new arts and inventions enable more and more capital to be used with advantage, are the factors chiefly to be considered when we inquire what makes the rate. So far as the classic economists go, they thus laid the foundations (to continue our metaphor), if not in whole, at least in good part, in their discussion of saving and abstinence; and even though we build a structure different from theirs, we may yet accept gratefully the beginning they made, and treat their work in less contemptuous and destructive fashion than does Mr. Cannan.

These are days of currency nonsense and protectionist absurdity, of fantastic reasoning by the followers of Henry George as to the millennium to come from land confiscation, and hopelessly airy proposals for the assumption of any and every industrial function by the Government. The temptation is strong, under such conditions, to hold fast to authority and accepted doctrines, and to refuse to give aid and comfort to the enemy by admitting that the theories of current political economy are not settled and established scientific truths. But, in fact, there are few of them which the criticism of the last quarter of a century has not impugned more or less. The doctrines of exchange, money, international trade, have suffered least, those as to production and distribution most. The latter, it must be admitted, need to be largely recast, and such work as Mr. Cannan's is a contribution of unquestionable value in the process. But when the process is done, we doubt whether the new system will differ so fundamentally from the old as the enthusiastic radicals of the present day expect; and we predict that in it there will be incorporated not only essential doctrines of the classic school, but a grateful recognition of the service which the older writers did in building for their successors.

*Italian Gardens.* By C. A. Platt. Harper & Bros. 1893.

THE scenery of the earth was made for man, not man for scenery. Civilized man enjoys natural scenery as the savage cannot, and he permanently preserves what he may of it in parks and public forests. Elsewhere he is necessarily a transformer and destroyer of nature. The landscape of civilization is an artificial landscape, and as such it may be either beautiful or ugly—beautiful when it is the blossom of use, convenience, or necessity; ugly when it is the fruit of pompous pride or common carelessness. The gardens of the Renaissance in Italy, France, and England have been thoughtlessly ridiculed in modern days because of their unlikeness to wild nature. As well revile a palace for its unlikeness to a wigwam. The vast extent and the tiresome repetitions of some of the gardens in question may convict them of the sin of vain-glorious display, but if they fitly served any human need or pleasure, their unnaturalness was no sin. Likeness or unlikeness to wild nature is no criterion of merit. Farmsteads, country roads, villages, city streets, and world's fairs are all more or less removed from nature and naturalness, yet even the last-named may be beautiful, as we have lately seen. Fitness for purpose is the safe foundation of the art of designing land and landscape for the use and enjoyment of men.

That the gardens of the classic world and

the Italian Renaissance fitly served a worthy purpose there can be no doubt. In the Italian climate, halls and drawing-rooms out of doors were even more to be desired than parlors indoors. Groves, parterres, terraces, and approaches were designed conjointly with the house or palace to form one composition—the so-called "villa." The boundary of the villa was a sharp line separating it from the hills of Tivoli or the plains of the Campagna. Inside the boundary was the formality which befits stately living; outside, yet in view from the terraces, was the informality and picturesqueness of the natural world.

Rightly thinking that these villas of Italy may teach lessons of value to the America of to-day, Mr. Platt has published in the book before us forty full-page pictures of their buildings, pavilions, terraces, water basins, and gardens, with many smaller drawings and photographs of architectural details. He has made an uncommonly charming yet truthful picture-book. We are compelled to wish he had done more. The text of the book is very handsomely printed with wide margins, but it consists of the briefest of notes. Even if it be "taken purely as supplementary to the illustrations," as we are asked to take it, it is very unsatisfying. For the fairly-to-be-expected elucidation of the plates, plans (as well as fuller notes) are sadly needed, yet only one is provided. On the first page mention is made of the great book of Percier and Fontaine, and it is stated that there exists no other "work of any great latitude" treating of Italian gardens. Evidently our author is not acquainted with W. P. Tuckermann's *Die Gartenkunst der Italienischen Renaissance-Zeit*, published in Berlin in 1884, and containing, besides twenty-one plates and numerous other cuts, some twenty ground-plans and cross-sections of Renaissance villas.

In the grassless regions of our South and Southwest, in the necessarily rectilinear public squares of our cities, in connection with stately buildings in all parts of our country, be they public offices in Washington or hotels by Lake George, the formal lines of the Italian villa will always be acceptable because they will always be fitting. Our public has still to learn that only by designing buildings and their surroundings as one harmonious composition can a happy result be secured in either the formal or the picturesque style. The recent World's Fair taught this lesson very clearly. Mr. Platt's delightful pictures teach it also. If those whom these pictures interest will turn from them to the works of Tuckermann, Repton, and the other professional writers on landscape architecture, and then will practise what they learn therefrom, Mr. Platt will have accomplished a good work for America.

*My Arctic Journal: A Year among Icefields and Eskimos.* By Josephine Diebitsch Peary. With an account of the Great White Journey across Greenland, by Robert E. Peary, C.E., U.S.A. Philadelphia: Contemporary Publishing Co. 1893. 8vo, 240 pp., illustrated.

IN taking up this volume one is naturally moved not only by the interest which attaches to any account of travel in inhospitable regions, or to arctic exploration as such, but by a curiosity born of the circumstances which led to the experiences recorded. In brief, the question arises in the mind of every reader, "What justification shall we find in it for the experiment of taking a well bred, plucky woman away from her normal sur-

roundings and leaving her for months practically alone on the shores of the Arctic Sea?" Secondly, explorers are likely to ask themselves, "Given the results here offered, are they such as will tend to make such experiments customary?" No question of personal heroism arises here; no one can be so blind to history as to doubt the possibility of courage and devotion of the highest order in woman. The problem is of a much more practical and less romantic kind. It will not be disputed that women feel more keenly than men the absence of those refinements and appliances of civilization upon which modern comfort depends, and suffer more from anxieties connected with the safety and success of those they love; or at least have less philosophy with which to meet such cares and privations than the average man. It is certain that the torment of women is not necessary to arctic exploration, or similar work, and in fact decreases the efficiency of a party in so far as they may be sympathetically affected by partaking of her trials, anxious for her safety, or obliged to waste time and strength over conventionalities disregarded by men among themselves under such circumstances.

Descending from the general to the special, in the present instance what advantages appear to have been gained by the presence of a lady in the Peary camp other than those personal to the two individuals most concerned? We turn for an answer to Mrs. Peary's account of her experiences. The party left New York on the steamer *Kite* June 6, 1891. On the 11th of July Mr. Peary was so unfortunate as to sustain a fracture of the leg due to a stroke from the iron tiller driven by a sudden movement of the ice. On the 26th of July it was decided to erect winter quarters on the shore of McCormick Bay; the party were landed, and on the 30th the *Kite* departed southward. The house being completed, preliminary excursions to examine the borders of the inland ice, hunting parties for deer and walrus, and negotiations with the Eskimo of the region, occupied the time. In the course of the season a number of the latter people, the "arctic highlanders" of earlier writers, made their home in the vicinity of "Redcliff House," as the building was named, and seem to have been very useful to the party, especially in preparing winter clothing. Winter set in about the end of October, and by about the middle of November Mr. Peary had entirely recovered from his injury. Daily exercise, the ordinary domestic duties, and the preparation of clothing and equipment for the expedition upon the inland ice absorbed the energies of the party, in all of which Mrs. Peary seems to have done her fair proportion without especial suffering or inconvenience, unless when attempting to sew at a temperature of only 44 degrees. Between her and the Eskimo, odors and parasites seem to have erected an impassable wall, and her account of the daily clean-up with corrosive sublimate after the departure of a native sempstress is amusing and almost pathetic. Of those mysteries of feminine life among the natives to which her sex might have given her access, or stimulated observation unthought of by male explorers, there is not a hint. We are not even told what sort of a thimble the women use. It would seem impossible to live in daily contact with a peculiar people for a year and learn less about them than what is recorded here. Under the circumstances this was not unnatural, but is somewhat disappointing.

In February the sun reappeared and the party began short excursions for various pur-

poses. The anxiety felt by the writer on various occasions of delay or bad weather while such trips were in progress, is vividly depicted, though not unduly dwelt upon. In April the party suffered from a visitation of the grippe. Later, Mrs. Peary accompanied her husband on a short expedition to Inglefield Gulf, and passed a night of horrors in a native igloo where she could not prevail upon herself even so much as to lie down. Thereafter the party built their own snow hut or slept without a shelter. On the 4th of May, Mr. Peary started on his adventurous journey, and for Mrs. Peary began three weary months of waiting. Her anxieties were not diminished by an absurd fancy of the colored cook that their lives were in danger from the natives. On the 25th of July a diversion was created by the arrival of the *Kite*, though this again raises the question of what is to be done if the explorers should not return before the *Kite* is obliged to start south. We will not quote Mrs. Peary's painful reflections. On the 6th of August suspense was ended and all was well; but we think that any one, not totally devoid of sympathy, who reads this journal, will have answered for himself the questions with which this summary was introduced—this, notwithstanding the paragraph with which Mrs. Peary closes her narrative:

"I returned in the best of health, much stronger than when I left sixteen months before. The journey was a thoroughly enjoyable one. There were some drawbacks, it is true, but we meet with them everywhere; and, were it not for the sad loss of Mr. Verhoeff, I should not have a single regret."

A brief chapter on the second journey, that of the present year, written in Greenland, and another by Mr. Peary on his journey over the ice, conclude the volume.

The publishers have issued the book in a most attractive form. Scientifically, except as a contribution to psychology, the numerous excellent illustrations are the most valuable part of it. To those who know little of arctic people or travel the text contains much that will interest, though to the geographer or ethnologist it is an oft-told story. That the present expedition may be no less fortunate than the one she has recorded, will be the earnest hope of all Mrs. Peary's readers.

*A History of English Dress.* By Georgiana Hill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 2 vols., 8vo.

ALTHOUGH the name of the American publishers alone appears on the title-pages of these volumes, they come to us from an English press, with the illustrations stamped with the name of the London firm of Richard Bentley & Son. We state these facts partly as another mode of saying that the steel plates are capitally engraved, the margins of the pages liberal, the type and printing a pleasure to the eye, while the surface-finish of the paper is delightfully free from the glaze and gloss that cause one alarming visions of failing sight and visits to the oculist. Nor does the mention of these adventitious merits by any means exhaust all that can be said in praise of the book. It is by far the best popular history of dress that has come under our notice. The author has not been betrayed by the lightness of her subject into flippancy, nor does she ever fall to the level of mere gossip about paint, powder, and pomatum. Common sense is at the bottom of her conception of fashion and its slaves, and a calmly impartial observation of the foibles and weaknesses of both sexes alike characterizes her pages.

As satirists of all times and every shade of

wit and delicacy have rung so many changes in verse, prose, and journalese upon the theme of feminine vanities, we prefer to quote Miss Hill on the less threadbare side of the subject. "Because in the present day," she writes, "men have chosen to affect a certain rigour in dress which does not admit of much variation, they are pleased to forget the quality of their toilet in the past, the number and mutability of their fashions, the elaboration and costliness of their attire, which equalled, nay exceeded, that of women." As among the first of the protracted sufferings of the sex in the cause of beauty may be mentioned the wearing of long pointed toes, stuffed with tow and turned up like rams' horns, in the first (Saxon-Norman) of the six periods treated of, and even during the second (Plantagenet) period, while women were still moving about unimpeded "in the simple Græco-Roman dress which was worn under the Normans, and, indeed, earlier." Of the fine gentlemen of the Tudor period an eye-witness is quoted as writing: "Their doublets are so stuffed, bombasted, and sewed, as they can verie hardly eyther stoupe down, or decline themselves to the ground, so styffe and sturdy they stand about them." The same observer's account of the process of the toilet of a gallant of the period does something towards proving that the intellect of the two sexes has been more on a par in past times than is commonly supposed. Among the milder vanities of the one claiming the greater freedom from them may be mentioned, in the Stuart period, the masses of curled hair, the earring in one ear, and the rose of ribbon fastened around the top of the other ear or in the curls.

The first volume ends with the Stuart period. The second includes two periods only, the eighteenth century and the nineteenth—a change, which strikes one as illogical, being thus introduced into the order of the subdivisions. A more serious charge, however, to be made is the lack of sufficient consecutive-ness of thought and treatment. Miss Hill has not confined herself strictly to a discussion of apparel, but touches upon the various changes in the social habits and in the private manners that also go to mark the man, as well as upon trade and industry as affected by costume. But the interest always aroused upon these points is too often frustrated by abrupt and rapid transitions of subject, even without the warning of a change of paragraph. In the chapters dealing with latter-day problems of dress, æsthetic, hygienic, and domestic, no original line of thought is followed out, though the presentment is from the standpoint of plain sense and reasonableness. Such as they are, these volumes may be a valuable addition to the bookshelves of a philosopher upon themes social and conventional, while their value for the less reflective reader is the breadth of outlook they give to a subject whose details, if taken too seriously, occupy an amount of attention out of all proportion to their value. In passing, too, one would like to note that although the revered vowel has not been dropped from words like honour, rigour, and vigour, nor any other enormity of American spelling committed, constructions have been allowed to stand which are to be deprecated on both sides of the water alike.

*The Masters and Masterpieces of Engraving.* By Willis O. Chapin. Illustrated with sixty engravings and heliogravures. Harper & Bros. 1893.

WITHIN the two hundred and sixty-six pages

of this elegant specimen of book-making are contained the salient features of the entire evolution of the art of engraving. The work is apparently "composed" for readers of little leisure who love art, and are interested in the vicissitudes of the lives which have contributed to its making. Moot questions are settled out of hand, in accordance with the weight of evidence, and only such prominent matters and personalities as are in the line of progress are rounded into completion. For closer study of workmanship and comparison of styles, the nearly autographic reproductions from valuable originals, with which the volume is embellished, serve a better purpose than any amount of description. Plate-engraving and etching are traced through the development of the various schools, which, to some extent interdependent, were nevertheless sufficiently national to be recognized by the names of Germany, Italy, Flanders, France, and England. In regard to the personalities that dominated these schools, the reader's memory is greatly assisted by their arrangement into contemporaneous groups. The character of the illustrations may be gathered from the titles of a few of those which illuminate this portion of the subject: "A Portrait of Rembrandt (Rembrandt appuyé)," etched by himself; "Lucretia," by Marc Antonio, after Raphael; "The Angel of the Annunciation," by Martin Schongauer; "The Nativity," by Albrecht Dürer; and a portion of "David Playing before Saul," by Lucas van Leyden.

The author has included wood-engraving, and traces it from the work of the *Form-schneider*, which is fittingly illustrated by the "St. Christopher" of Earl Spencer's collection, the earliest cut with authentic date, and subjects from Dürer and Holbein. Thomas Bewick is assigned his proper niche in the temple of fame, and, among the illustrations of the book, is represented by "The Yellow Bunting" and "The Woodcock," which exhibit his simple mastery as perfectly as an entire copy of "The British Birds." A portion of Harvey's engraving of "The Death of Dentatus"—rather an inferior reproduction—is used to display the traits of this famous work. Heliotype reproductions of "Rinaldo and Armida" by Nesbit and "The Cave of Despair" by Branstons, works done in rivalry by these English engravers, as here presented, printed on antique paper, with the plate-mark, seem actually to be the copper plates they imitate. W. J. Linton receives his tribute of most honorable mention and a page engraving in his virile free manner. American engravers who receive equal distinction in the display of their work are Johnson, Kingsley, Kruell, and Closson.

Altogether this book is one which is likely to win attention to its subject, too often made repellent by a dry account of methods and catalogues of works.

*Printers' Marks; A Chapter in the History of Typography.* By W. Roberts, Editor of the *Bookworm*. Broad 12mo, pp. xv., 261. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1893.

THE earliest printed books had no titles or title-pages. The printer's name and place, when not entirely omitted, were to be found only on the last page of the book, in the small type of the text, where they would not be noticed by the careless observer. Properly to assert his claim as the mechanical maker of the book, and to cause the claim to be noted and remembered, the printer had to design and have printed on this last page a conspicuous

engraved trade-mark. This bold engraving identified him with his books.

The 'Psalter of 1457,' printed by Fust & Schoeffer, at Mainz, was the first book with a printer's mark. In time other printers followed this example. At the close of the fifteenth century, every reputable printer put his trade-mark on his books. By general consent its position was transferred from the last page to the first page, and it was usually made the blackest and boldest impression of the volume. It often occupied one-half, sometimes two-thirds, of the entire title-page. The printer's mark is not now regarded as indispensable. Many large publishers have no mark. The few that are used are rather modest as to size, seldom exceeding the dimensions of three square inches. The only notable exception is that of the Kelmscott Press, which is almost as big as that of William Caxton.

In the book before us more than two hundred marks are shown, but those of French, German, and Italian printers are most in number. The marks of the eminent early English printers are reproduced, but the printers of this century do not fare so well; there are relatively few marks of modern printers, and only seven of the printers of America. Many of the marks have been copied by photo-engraving process, and all of them, and the text too, are exceptionally well printed. Mr. Roberts's comments are curt, but exact and instructive. He has made a valuable book of reference, giving much useful information concerning a department of typography that has been hitherto neglected by all writers in English, and is accessible to the student only in French and German books.

A study of these marks does not impress the reader with their artistic value as a whole. Some of the earlier ones, that may have been designed or suggested by artists of the period of Holbein and Dürer, and by the able French designers of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, have real artistic merit, but many of them are crude, fantastic, and inartistic. The domination of the religious sentiment is strongly shown in all designs made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The cross appears in every variety of distortion. Angels and Biblical characters are very common. With them came heraldic shields with supports of mythological and mediæval monsters, such as satyrs, fauns, tritons, phoenixes, griffins, and unicorns. Then came rebuses, monograms, and far-fetched puns on the name of the printer. English printers especially showed an extraordinary aptitude for this shocking form of illustration. Many printers whose names ended with *-ton* (an abbreviation of town) made use of a great barrel, or tun, as the chief ornament of their device. Nor is the punning device yet out of fashion; it can be found in the marks of several English publishers of this century. Curious and interesting as these marks are, the designs will not bear comparison with the designs or the engraving of the same number of chance-collected *ex-libris*.

In most of the marks is evident an effort to be striking and original at the expense of propriety and even of fair dealing. When a printer failed to invent a new design, he did not hesitate to copy the design of another. The dolphin and anchor of Aldus Manutius have been favorite stock pieces for plunder. Pickering of London appropriated them bodily. Whittingham incorporated them in one of his devices of the Chiswick Press. Bell of London and Joel Munsell of Albany have tagged them on their respective marks.

*Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America.* By Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1892. Pp. 658.

*Life and Times of Henry Burt of Springfield and Some of his Descendants.* By Henry W. Burt and Silas W. Burt. Springfield, Mass.: Clark W. Bryan Co. 1893. Pp. 617.

*The Genealogy of the Mickley Family of America.* By Minnie F. Mickley. Mickleys, Penn. 1893. Pp. 182.

THESE three volumes are, we fear, only average specimens of the work now being done by enthusiasts in the name of genealogy. The Cutts book is large and evidently costly, the printer assisting to make the maximum of pages out of the material. It is not a Cutts genealogy, although a history of that very small, yet distinguished, family might be culled from its pages. It is really a miscellaneous collection of pedigrees of persons having a small portion of Cutts blood through their maternal ancestors. For example, the last name in the line is 5450, W. L. Putnam, traced through Harriet Lowell, Charles R. Lowell, Harriet B. Spence, Mary W. Traill, Mary Whipple, Mary Cutt, and Robert Cutt, jr., to Robert Cutt the emigrant. That is to say, Mr. Putnam was in the seventh generation from a male of the Cutts family, and probably had 127 other progenitors in that generation. Doubtless there are many thousands of persons who share equally in this connection, but the fact is as worthless as it is patent. It is a most serious defect in this book that no attempt is made to assist the reader by suitable typographical aids. There are no cross-references, nothing to show the continuance of families nor the generations. The few real Cuttses are swamped and lost among the female lines. This is a pity, as the males were very noticeable men, prominent in New Hampshire history, and well worth a clear record. Perhaps after this book has answered its purpose, some one will extract from it a Cutts pedigree.

The Burt book is a family magazine, being a mere collection of notices of various families of the name, prepared by different persons, and of widely varying degrees of correctness and fulness. It reports a general family reunion, and is avowedly only a collection of materials. Conformably to its fore-title, "Early Days in New England," much space is given to the early history of Springfield, Mass., Longmeadow, and Northampton, recording matter invaluable in a town history, but which would be entirely out of place in a formal genealogy.

The small Mickley genealogy is really a family history, unpretending in form and covering a small field very well. It begins with John Jacob Mickley, who was born probably in 1697, and who arrived in Philadelphia in 1733. Six generations of his descendants of the name are given, 503 names in all, in the simplest form of record. It seems probable that the emigrant was a brother of Louis Michellet of Metz, great-grandfather of Prof. Charles Louis Michellet of Berlin. If so, the family can be traced five generations in France.

In behalf of the high standard established for American genealogies, we may be excused for insisting that only those who inherit the name by birth belong to a family. Right or wrong, the paternal ancestry is the distinguishing one, and a genealogy is the record of a family from that standpoint. The public may or may not be right in supposing that the male line inherits certain definite traits; but if not, no one can select the line of female ancestry which will prove to dominate. Among

the Cutts descendants James Russell Lowell, B. P. Shillaber ("Mrs. Partington"), Gen. Fitz-John Porter, and Richard C. Shannon; among the Burts, Ezra Stiles, Ethan Allen, Silas Wright, Sylvester Judd, and President Cleveland appear. But there is no trait possessed in common by these gentlemen which is to be considered as due to the Cutts or the Burt influence. They may cast some borrowed

lustre upon a less noted stock, and curiosity may be gratified by such fortuitous associations, but the true object of attention is the line selected for research. This principle has been in the main observed in the choice of portrait illustrations for the second work on our list, most of them being of descendants who bear the name of Burt. The Cutts volume is also illustrated.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Almanach de Gotha. 1894. Gotha: Justus Perthes; New York: Westermann.  
Bent, J. T. The Sacred City of the Ethiopians. Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.  
Chatfield Taylor, H. C. An American Princess. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.  
Dupriez, Prof. L. Les Ministres dans les Principaux Pays d'Europe et d'Amérique. 2 vols. Paris: J. Rothchild.  
Ebers, Georg. Kleopatra: Historischer Roman. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.  
Frith, Henry. The Romance of Navigation and Maritime Discovery. Ward, Lock & Bowden.

*The Seventh Volume begins with the*  
**JANUARY**  
**EDUCATIONAL**  
**REVIEW.**

ARTICLES.—The Committee of Ten's Report, William T. Harris; Greek and Barbarian, Wm. H. Norton; College and University in the United States, Chas. Gross; The Status of Geography Teaching, J. W. Redway; The American School Superintendent, E. A. Hinsdale; Study of Education at Edinburgh University, S. S. Laurie.

EDUCATION IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS.—The Jansenists and their Schools (concluded), H. C. Bowen.

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